

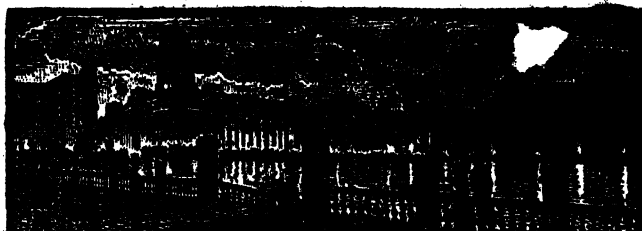
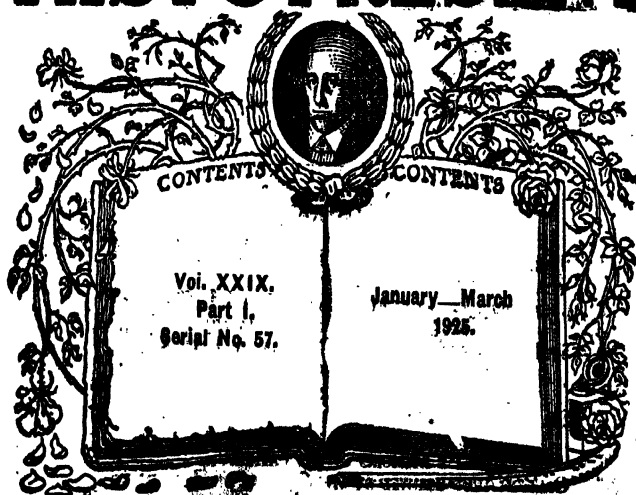
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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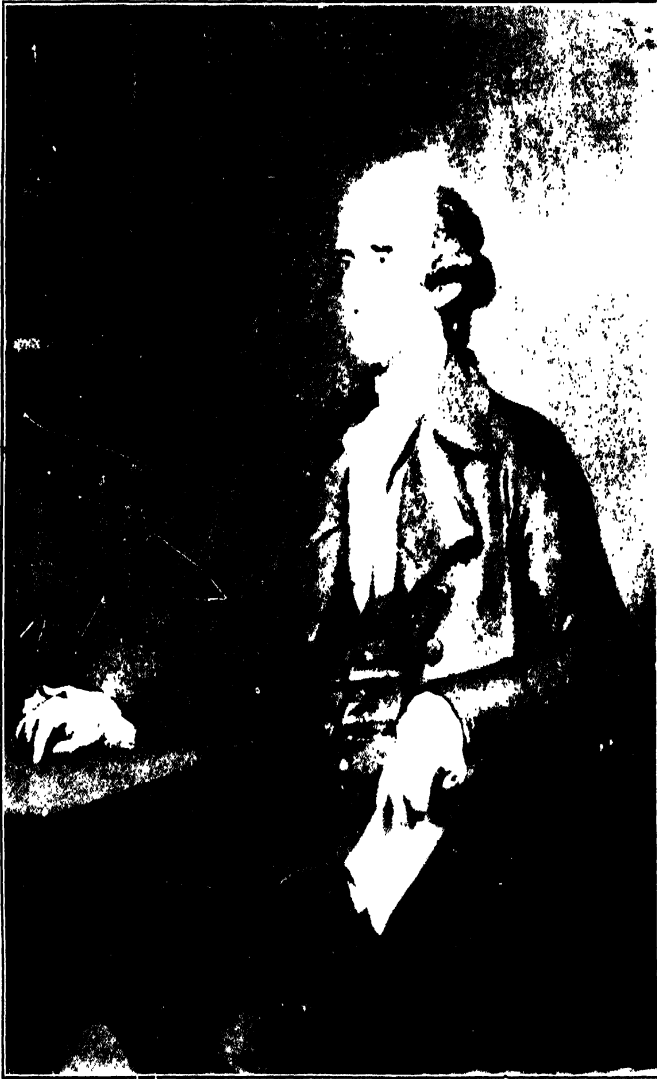
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WARREN HASTINGS.

Engraved by John Jones from the Painting by J. T. Seton.
(Published June 24, 1797, by T. Dutton, No. 10 Birchin Lane.)

British Painters in Bengal.

IN the new edition of the Catalogue of the India Office Pictures I noted, with reference to the full-length portrait of Sir Eyre Coote that hangs in the Council Room :

During the recent cleaning of this picture, the date 1783 and a monogram reading apparently J.T.S. were discovered on the lower righthand portion of the canvas. This suggests that it was painted by John Thomas Seton. That artist was never in India, and the portrait, if it indeed his work, must have been based upon such materials as were available. The death of Coote, which occurred in April, 1783, may have prompted Seton to produce the portrait possibly with a view to its being engraved.

My chief reason for saying that Seton was never in India was that the notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography* made no mention of his having visited that country, and indeed, in its account of his life, seemed to leave no room for any such episode. Its words are : " He resided for some time at Bath, whence he sent portraits to the exhibition of the Society [i.e., the Incorporated Society of Artists], and in 1774 he exhibited portraits at the Royal Academy. His portraits were usually small full lengths in a landscape. He subsequently went to Edinburgh, where he practised with repute as a portrait painter, and was living in 1806."

The revised (1905) edition of Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters* gives a still more continuous story; for it states that Seton " exhibited at the Academy between 1761 and 1777. About three years later he was practising with much success in Edinburgh."

I was further influenced by the fact that, although I had been for many years on the watch for references to British painters who plied their calling in India, no mention of Seton in this connexion had come under my notice. Nevertheless, it was certainly rash to speak so positively on the point, and I soon had cause to regret my temerity. My statement was quoted by a *Times* reviewer, with the result that, in the issue of that journal for November 5, 1924, there appeared a letter from Mr. W. C. Macpherson, C.S.I., late of the Indian Civil Service, which proved conclusively that I was wrong. In this letter he said :

I have a receipt, dated ' Calcutta, September 27, 1783,' and signed ' J. Thos. Seton,' for 1, 700 rupees sicca, paid for portraits of Colonel Allan Macpherson (my great-grandfather), Colonel John Macpherson, his brother, and Mrs. Allan Macpherson. I also have a letter written by Colonel Allan Macpherson, dated December 4, 1781, from Calcutta, to Miss Eliza Dell Fraser, (afterwards Mrs. Allan Macpherson), at Cossim Bazar, which says : ' Compliments to Mr. Seaton (sic), and pray tell him not to take much pains with the drapery of my pic-

ture, as I wish to have it in Q.M.G.'s uniform when he comes down." Family records show that these portraits were painted before June, 1782, though Mr. Seton's bill was not presented till 1783.

Five days later the *Times* inserted a letter from Mrs. Finberg, stating that : In 1777 John Thomas Seton (or Seaton) contributed 'A Portrait of a Gentleman' to the Exhibition of the Royal Incorporated Society of Artists, his address being then given in the catalogue as 'East India.' I have a copy of the original catalogue by me. Both John Thomas and his father Christopher, the gem engraver, wrote their name 'Seaton' in the roll of the Society of Artists, now in possession of the Royal Academy. I have seen a portrait group of 'Diana, wife of Sir Charles D'Oyly, with children and Indian servant,' by J. T. Seaton, which was said to have been painted in India.

On these letters two observations may be made. In the first place, it would seem, from what has been stated by Mr. Macpherson, that by 1783 the artist had taken to spelling his name 'Seton'; and this form of it appears on the engraving by Jones, published in 1785, of the portrait of Warren Hastings hereafter alluded to. Secondly, Lady Diana D'Oyly was the wife, not of Sir Charles, but of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly; the sixth baronet. Full length life-size portraits of Sir John and Lady Diana, both by Seton, are in the possession of the present Baronet.

As a further result of the correspondence Mr. Stanley V. Coote called upon me and produced an etched portrait of Sir Eyre Coote, bearing the inscription "Lieut. Gen. Sir Eyre Coote, K.B. J.T.S. pr. C.J.G. fecit. Calcutta, May, 1783." This proved to be a coarse piece of work, evidently taken from the India Office painting, but showing little more than the head and shoulders, in an oval border. The face looks in the opposite direction to the original—an arrangement due probably to the engraver having copied direct on to the plate this portion of the picture, instead of reversing it as usual. Subsequently I heard of a second copy of this engraving, in a private collection in London, the owner of which informed me that he had been told that only three were known to exist. There is none in the British Museum.

C. J. G. was probably, as Sir Evan Cotton has suggested, the Caleb John Garbrand, portrait painter, whose daughter Sophana was baptized at St. John's, Calcutta, on 9 May, 1784. Little seems to be known of him beyond the fact, stated in Graves' *Royal Academy Exhibitors*, that between 1775 and 1780 (inclusive) he exhibited ten portraits (unnamed) at the Royal Accademy. Presumably he then went to India to try his fortune as an artist there; but no trace has been found in the Court Minutes of permission having been accorded to him by the Directors. In the *East India Kalendar* for 1791 his name appears among the residents in Bengal not in the Company's service; but neither the date of his arrival, nor the ship by which he came, is given. The 1795 edition of the same work shows him as then resident at "Luckipore" (Lakhipur, in Noakhali District); but some doubt is cast upon the correctness of this statement by the fact that he is not to be found in the manuscript lists at the

India Office, which begin in December, 1793. No further information about him has been discovered.

I next applied myself to the task of searching the India Office records for references to Seton: and in the Minutes of the Court of Directors, under date of 22nd November, 1775, the following entry came to light: "Order'd that Mr. John Seaton have leave to proceed to Bengal to practice the profession of a portrait painter."

An examination of the logs of the ships departing for Calcutta during the next few months yielded no result. Most could be definitely ruled out, because they contained lists of passengers, and in these the name of Seton did not appear. There was, however, the *Lioness*, which sailed from the Downs in February, 1776, and reached the Hugli at the end of August. Her log does not include a list of the passengers; so possibly the painter was on board.

I have tried many possible sources for information regarding Seton's sojourn in Bengal, but have failed to add anything to what has already been stated in the *Times* correspondence. No reference to the artist could be discovered in either Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* or its contemporary the *India Gazette*. A similar want of success attended my efforts to trace the date at which Seton returned to England. It must have been later than September, 1783; but probably it was not long after that period.

From the facts stated there can no longer be any doubt that the India Office portrait of Coote was painted in India and by Seton. It seems also to be fairly certain now that Seton's portrait of Warren Hastings (1) was painted from life and not (as has been suggested) from a miniature. This adds greatly to its importance, and makes one regret the more that its history and present location are apparently unknown.

We now pass on to another artist, who went out to India about the time that Seton returned. While searching the Court Minutes for notices of Seton, I came across the following entry, under date of 14 September, 1785: 'Order'd that George Carter be permitted to proceed to India to practise as a portrait painter.' A later entry showed that on 16 November following John Peat, of Tooting, and Robert Woodgate, of Golden Square, were approved as securities for him in the sum of 500.

Recourse was next had to the logs of the ships proceeding to Bengal that season, but without result. The desired information was, however, obtained in a somewhat curious fashion. In his *Narrative of the Loss of the Grosvenor*, which he published in 1791, Carter mentioned that he had procured his materials from a seaman named John Hynes, who had been one of the survivors from the wreck and had afterwards gone out to India as a sailor on board the vessel in which Carter himself went: and further the statement was made that this vessel, when nearing the Hugli, struck a sand called the French Flat

(1) An engraving of it, made by John Jones, was published in April, 1785. It was reproduced in 1910 in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. V, p. 336), and is again reproduced as a frontispiece to the present number. [The copy in the Victoria Memorial Hall was published in London on June 24, 1797, by T. Dutton, of 10 Birchin Lane.—Ed. B. P. and P.]

(just past the Braces) but was got off again. This information sent me to the ships' ledgers, with the result that I found John Hynds (*sic*) among the crew of the *Manship*, which left the Downs at the end of 1785 and reached Diamond Harbour on 9 June, 1786; and on referring to her log (which contained no list of passengers) an entry was discovered, recording that she had grounded on the French Flat, as stated by Carter.

There could scarcely be a doubt that the artist mentioned in the Court Minutes was identical with the George Carter (1737-94) of the *Dictionary of National Biography*; but here again it was surprising to find that the writer of the notice was unaware that his subject had spent some years in India (2). The story he had to narrate was already a rather remarkable one, but it would have gained in interest had he been aware of Carter's visit to Bengal. He tells us that the future artist arrived in London from Colchester in the capacity of a servant, became a shopman to a mercer, and afterwards set up in partnership in the same business, but failed. He then turned his attention to art and exhibited several pictures; after which, with the assistance of some brother artists, he secured the necessary funds for travelling abroad, and studied for a time in Rome (3). Returning to London in 1778, he set up as an historical painter, and in 1785 opened an exhibition of thirty-five of his own pictures in Pall Mall. His shopman training seems to have been too strong for him, as he praised his wares in such extravagant terms as to draw down upon him the reprobation of other artists and a certain amount of ridicule from the public. The article then proceeds to mention several of Carter's paintings (many of which were engraved at his own expense), including one, 'The Apotheosis of Garrick,' which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1790; and it concludes with a reference to Carter's book on the wreck of the *Grosvenor* and the statement that late in life he retired to Hendon, where he was buried on 19 September 1794.

The only references I have been able to find to Carter's residence in Bengal occur in the *Calcutta Gazette*. Advertisements in the issues of 9 November, 7 & 14 December, 1786 show that he was then living in Council House Street and had organized a lottery of his pictures, tickets for which were available at 100 sicca rupees each. On 18 December the Governor General (Lord Cornwallis), visited the exhibition (*ibid*, 21 December). William Hickey does not mention the artist in his *Memoirs*; nor have I discovered any allusion to him in other writers of the time.

That Carter returned to England in or before 1790 is rendered probable, not only by the facts already mentioned that he contributed to the Academy in that year and published a book in London shortly afterwards, but also by the absence of his name from the list of European residents in Bengal given in

(2) I find, however, that the short notice in Benizet's *Dictionnaire des Peintres* (1911) states that Carter "visita les Indes."

(3) It may be surmised that he was the "artist of the name of Carter, a captious, cross-grained and self-conceited person," who started for Rome in August, 1774, in company with the American painter Copley. (Cunningham's *British Painters*, ed. 1879, vol. ii, p. 228).

the earliest issue of the *East India Kalendar*. Since that work was published in London in 1791, it must have been based upon returns compiled in Bengal at least a year earlier. Apparently the artist left a considerable number of pictures behind him; for in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 5 December, 1793, their sale by auction was announced for the 28th of that month. The paintings comprised "Marquis Cornwallis receiving His Highness the Nabob Mobarek-ul-Dowlah," "The Death of Master Law, a passenger on the *Grosvenor*," a view in Bhutan, and a waterfall in Prince of Wales Island; besides fourteen others, either rustic subjects or views in Great Britain. There were also a number of drawings and prints, including views in Bengal, Bandel Church, and ruins at Rajmahal. The list terminated with 40 copies of "the plan of Calcutta."

The Victoria Memorial Hall possesses a specimen of Carter's work in the shape of a painting presented by Col. Harrison in 1911. It is a full length seated portrait of some individual at present unidentified; but Sir Evan Cotton is probably right in his conjecture that it represents a certain Thomas Henderson. (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.)

Mention has already been made of the list of residents in Bengal that appears in the *East India Kalendar* for 1791. That list contains the names of three other well known artists, viz. Arthur William Devis and the two Daniells, Thomas and William. Both the latter are described as engravers and are stated to have come out in the *Atlas* in 1786. The date is important, for hitherto an earlier one has generally been assigned for their arrival in India. That it is correct seems to be indicated by the following facts. The Court Minutes of the East India Company show that on 1 December, 1784 published was given to Thomas Daniell "to proceed to Bengal to follow his profession of an engraver": that on the 10th of the same month his request to be allowed to take his nephew with him "as his assistant" was granted: and that on 23 February, 1785 Robert Smirk, of Upper Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place, and Edmund Hague, of Queen Anne Street East, were approved as his securities. The *Atlas* sailed from the Downs on 7 April, 1785, bound, not for Bengal, but for China direct. Her log does not contain a list of the passengers and I have been unable to find any evidence in it that the Daniells were on board; but the positive statement in the *East India Kalendar* on that point may be accepted, especially when we remember that in 1810 the two artists published a work entitled *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the way of China*. The letterpress of this merely comments on the illustrations, and gives no hint of the writers' personal experiences; the obvious conclusion is, however, that the sketches were made during their voyage out in the *Atlas* and were afterwards utilised in this manner.

The *Atlas* reached Whampoa on 23 August, 1785, and sailed for England (direct) in the following January. The Daniells no doubt proceeded from Canton to India in a country ship, arriving probably either late in 1785 or early in 1786.

As regards Devis, there is no mystery as to the way in which he reached India. The fact is well established that he went out to China in the *Antelope*

in 1782. This vessel reached Macao early in June, 1783, and sailed again on 20 July. Three weeks later she was wrecked on one of the Pelew Islands. Those on board managed to get ashore, where they quickly established friendly relations with the natives. After some time they contrived to build a small vessel, in which they regained Macao at the beginning of December, 1783. The story is well known, since considerable interest was aroused by the fact that the survivors brought away with them a young son of the chief who had befriended them. This youth, generally termed Prince Lee Boo, proceeded to England, where he died of small-pox and was buried in Rotherhithe churchyard. The East India Company erected a monument over his grave.

Devis had been one of the shipwrecked party, and while on the island had made some sketches which were afterwards utilised in what may be called the official narrative of the disaster, viz. *An Account of the Pelew Islands*. . . ., by George Keate. He had also brought away unpleasant mementoes of the adventure in the shape of a couple of arrow wounds, one of which permanently injured his jaw. From Canton the survivors took passage for England in various vessels, with the exception of Devis, who, having resolved to try his fortune in the East, remained behind. The loss of the vessel cancelled any legal claim he might have upon the Company; but his immediate needs were generously relieved by the latter's representatives. Writing to the Directors on 1 January, 1784, the Canton Council said :

Mr. Arthur Devis, who was sent out by Your Honours as a draughtsman board the ship *Antelope*, having represented to us his distress for a little money to purchase cloaths, etc., we have considered his application as well founded; and, as we observe by your Secretary's letter to him, had the voyage been completed, he was to have expected at least 100 guineas, we have consented to advance him the sum of tales 300; which we hope you will not disapprove.

The letter from the Company's Secretary here referred to has not been found, nor does there seem to be any clue in the India Office records to the circumstances in which Devis was engaged. The only information we have on the point comes from the ledger of the *Antelope*, which says that he was "sent as draftsman, per order of the Secret Committee" and "left at Canton." No money was paid to him during the voyage.

How long Devis remained in China before proceeding to India does not appear from the records; but the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he spent a year at Canton. This is supported by an entry in the 1795 edition of the *East India Kalendar*, which gives the year of his arrival in India as 1785. The *Dictionary* also says that he returned to England from India in 1795. This is correct. The log of the *Rose*, which left Bengal on 10 January, 1795, names him among the passengers and says that he landed with the rest at Deal on 23 July 1795.

Mir Jumla's Invasion of Assam.

A CONTEMPORARY DUTCH CHRONICLE.

THERE are several accounts of the expedition led into Assam by Mir Jumla in the year 1662. A short relation is to be found in the *Alamgirnama*: but it is clearly based upon a more important authority, the *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah* or *Tariḡh Fath-i-Asham* (History of the Conquest of Assam). This was written in the years 1662-1663 by Ibn Muhammad Wali, or Shihabuddin Talish, who accompanied Mir Jumla during the campaign as a clerk. Both the British Museum and the Asiatic Society of Bengal possess a manuscript of this work: and it was printed at Calcutta in A. H. 1265 (1848-1849 A. D.) by Masihuddin Khan, a moonshee of the Foreign Department. A literal translation has been made by Professor Jadunath Sarkar and published by him in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Vol. I, pp. 182-195). There is also a version in French, based upon the Urdu of Mir Bahadur Ali, by Theodore Pavie (Paris, 1845).

Contemporary European travellers in India have likewise described the campaign. Tavernier, Nicolao Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*) and Bernier have all given their accounts. But the most interesting of them all is the story told by an unnamed Dutch sailor who was shipwrecked on an island off Sandwip in 1661 and was pressed along with his companions into the service of Mir Jumla. He related his adventures in French in a slim 12mo volume which is undated but is stated in the English translation to have been printed at Amsterdam in 1681. The title page, which makes no reference to Mir Jumla or his invasion of Assam, is as follows:

Relation
du
Naufrage
d'un
Vaisseau Hollandois
nomme Ter
Schelling
Vers la Côte de Bengala :
Où
L'on voit des effets extraordinaires de
La faim, et plusieurs autres choses re-
marquables, arrivées a ceux qui mon-
toient ce Bâtiment.

The title page of the English translation (1682) is more comprehensive and gives a clue to the matter of which we are in search:

A
Relation
of an Unfortunate
Voyage
to the Kingdom of
Bengala
Describing

The deplorable condition and dismal
accidents, attending those therein concerned.

How that, after the loss of their ship, they
were forced to abide in a Desert, and Barren
Island: to eat Leaves, Toads, Serpents, etc.
and reduced to that extremity, as to digg
open Graves, to feed on Human Bodies. As
also, the manner of their deliverance out of
that place; and what befel them afterwards,
in the service of the great Mogol. Together
with choice Observations, touching that Mo-
narch's Government, Laws, Customs, and Ar-
mies: and especially his late war against the
Kings of Azo and Assam, with several other
remarkable particulars.

By Mr. Glanius
London

Printed for Henry Bonwick at the Red
Lyon in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1682.

Both volumes are in Archbishop Goethals' Library, and have been most courteously lent for transcription and comparison. The English translation was reproduced in 1852 in the second volume of a work pulished in London and styled "Tales of Shipwrecks and Adventures at Sea": but the text has been modernised and deprived of that archaic flavour which constitutes its principal charm.

We print below the portion (pp. 135-184) which relates to the Expedition into Assam, in its original form and have attached footnotes which may serve to clear up obscure allusions.*

The book opens as follows (p. 1):

We parted from Batavia with the Vessels named Wesop, Brouwershaven, and Nieuwen-hove, the 3d of September in the year One thousand six hundred sixty one: and set Sail towards Ongueli, in the Kingdom of Bengala. Our Vessel (called Ter Schelling) carry'd 8 pieces of Cannon, and four score and five men; our freight consisting chiefly of pieces of Silver Coin and Copper-Plates. . . .

* Useful information upon several points has been supplied by Baboo Jamini Mohan Ghosh of Myrinsingh, to whom the Editor's thanks are due.

On pp. 3-4 we read :

- [3] On the 8th of October we were in sight of the Coast of Bengala but knew it not. In this uncertainty we steer'd towards it, and cast Anchor within two leagues off the shore, where our Master Jacob Janz-Stroom (born at Amsterdam) sent out the Long-boat and dispatch'd the Pilot to the Inhabitants with Seven or Eight Sea-men and the Steward, who had some skill in the Language of that Country, to enquire into the Nature, and Name of that Coast we saw. We knew that of Bengala was full of rocks and dangerous shelves, whereon several Vessels had been cast away but had not that necessary [4] knowledge whereabouts they lay, without which we could not avoid them: Three days past since our men went on shoar, and we in continual expectation of their return. But at length suspected they were detained captive, or destroyed by some other misfortune, whereupon we weighed Anchor, and sought a Port where we might inquire further after them.

Thereafter they were caught in a heavy storm. The ship struck several times on the sandbanks of the Sunderbands and finally became a wreck. The crew found their way ashore in different parties. After suffering the extremities of hunger and being reduced to feeding upon all manner of offal, the party of which the writer was a member, fell in with some of the inhabitants on an island opposite Sandwip who took them to that place where they found the master of the vessel and those who had accompanied him. The "Governour of the Town" received them kindly and "liberally provided for them." At this point their adventures with Mir Jumla begin.

[135] Having been here [at Sondiep] (1) about five days we desired the Governour's permission to go to Bolwa (2), where our companions were gone

(1) *Sondiep*: Sandwip: a large island in the Bay of Bengal, about 18 miles long and six broad, separated by the Bamni river from the mainland of the Noakhali district, to which it is now attached for administrative purposes. According to Cesare Federici (*Viaggio nell' India Orientale e oltre l'India: Venezia, 1587*) the island of Sandwip was densely populated and well cultivated: 200 ships were loaded yearly with salt: and such was the abundance of materials for shipbuilding that the Sultan of Roum (Constantinople) found it cheaper to have his vessels built there than at Alexandria. Sebastian Gonzales Tibao, one of the many Portuguese adventurers in the service of the King of Arracan at Chittagong, established himself at Sandwip as an independent Chief in 1609, but was defeated and dispossessed in 1615 by his former master. Manrique, who visited Sandwip between 1628 and 1641, found it entirely depopulated. Shaista Khan, who succeeded Mir Jumla as Viceroy at Dacca, captured Chittagong and Sandwip in 1666.

(2) *Bulwa*: or Bhulua, is a village a few miles west of Sudharam, the sudder station of the Noakhali district. It was the site of a Muhammadan fort established in the seventeenth century: and became the headquarters of a British Collector in 1787. The pargana of Bhulua was one of those farmed by Contoo Baboo, the famous dewan of Warren Hastings, and founder of the Cossimbazar Raj Family. Salt was an important commodity, and its manufacture, which was a monopoly of the East India Company, was controlled by "the Salt Agent at Bulloah and Chittagong." The office was held from 1820 to 1822 by Mr. Trevor John Chicheley Plowden (writer, 1800).

before us. He scrupled at first the matter, supposing we were not yet able to endure so long a Voyage; but finding us determined, he caused three Barks to be made ready, one to carry us, and the two others for our Convoy.

The Night following we arrived at Anam (3), a poor and despicable place, that afforded not anything. Here we sent back our three Barks [136] and hired another as far as Bolwa. At two Leagues distance from this Village, our Guides set us on Shoar, and made us walk on Foot, the rest of the way. Whilst they went to the Governor (4), to give notice of our arrival, we bought Milk and Rice, which we drest in a Pot, that was lent us by Moors (5) that spake Portugaise. It was near ready, when our guides came and told us, we must come immediately to the Prince, who sent for us. This news displeased us, for we had a Canine Appetite; and were not willing to leave to strangers, what we so dearly prized. We took the Pot, then, and carried it by turns to the Prince's Palace-Gate, where we eat what was in it, before we entred. We were afterwards led to the place, where our twenty Companions were, who parted long before us; and within half an hour, into a great Hall, where our Money was counted; to the end we [137] might be satisfied, in case we had been Robbed by the way. We were at length brought to our Lodging, and by the Prince's order, served with an excellent Meat (called Brensie) seen only on great Mens Tables (6). 'Tis made of choice Rice, a fat Goose, and two Pullets, squeezed together in a Cloth, after about two or three hours boiling; To the juyce of which, there is added several sorts of spices; especially Nutmegs, Cloves, Saffron, Cinamon, and Sugar. This was such a nourishing Food, that in less than three or four days, we recovered again our full strength. Yet were not our Stomachs fully satisfied with it; for we were more for a less juicy meat, such as dry Rice, and boiled Fish.

Five days after we had been here, the States of the Kingdom, whom the Prince called, met before his Palace; where, as fast as they came, we saw 'em take their places, [138] and sit down after the manner of the Eastern people. When all the Members had taken their places, the Prince came out of the Palace, invironed with his Guards; some with Bows and Arrows, others with Sword and Buckler; and he seated himself in the same manner as the rest.

(3) *Anam*—probably Amangunge of Rennell's map: on the mainland opposite Sandwip.

(4) The Mogul Commander of the garrison. "When the (Mugh) pirates came from Chittagong (Chittagong) to ravage Bengal, they skirted the imperial frontier post of Bhalua on their right and the island of Sandwip on their left." (Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah of Shihabuddin Talish, quoted in J. N. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 228.)

(5) *Moors*.—Portuguese *Mouro*: the name applied by them to the Muhammadans. Cf. Cesare Federici (1569): "Alwaies whereas I have spoken of Gentiles is to be understood Idolaters, and whereas I speak of Moores, I mean Mahomets secte."

(6) *Brensie*.—The *harisah* of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's transl. 1873: Vol. I, p. 61) where the ingredients are thus given: 10 seers of meat, 5 seers of crushed wheat, 2 seers of ghee, $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of salt, 2 dams of cinnamon: "this gives five dishes." Brensie, a Mahomedan friend at Mymensingh informs us, is a corruption of *brinj*, the name of the cereal used. The dish is still relished by the Moplahs in Malabar.

They kept in this posture, from Morning till Night; and that which they determined, was so little secret that an hour after, 'twas the talk of the common people. I desired to know the reason of it, and was told, that here were no Mysteries of State transacted, nothing being done but what came to the public notice. And the reason is, that the Prince's Guard consists wholly of Christians, which are there in great esteem; and although, perhaps, they are only Christians in name, being Negroes born; Subjects to the King of Portugal (7): Yet are they counted such brave fellows, that they have [139] a particular respect shew'd them; and therefore the Grandees of the Court so highly prize their Familiarity, that they relate to them, whatsoever passes in Council.

The next Morning, the Prince sent us word, that we might go when we pleased, the Barks being ready. This being our earnest desire, we parted an hour after and happily arrived at Decka (8). The Factory received us kindly. We related to 'em our Adventures, and they inform'd us that the Ship called the Wesop was cast away near the Isles of Anaans (9).

The Governor, caused a Bark to be made ready, to Transport us to Ongueli (10) where the Dutch have also a considerable Factory. But an hour before we parted, he receiv'd a Letter from the great Mogols General, in which he enjoyned him to send us to him: This being an express order, we

(7) Small colonies of Portuguese still exist in the Dacca, Noakhali, Chittagong and Backergunge districts: and also near Geonkhali (Cowcolly) at the entrance of the Hooghly in the Midnapore district. Except that they are Christians and that some have Portuguese names, they cannot be distinguished from their neighbours who call them Mutti or Kala Feringhees (earth or black foreigners). Walter Hamilton in his Description of Hindostan, 1820: Vol. I, p. 312) notes that there were as many as twenty Portuguese families settled at Goalpara, which was then part of the Rungpore district: and that they were known as *Choldar* "which seems to be a corruption of Soldier."

(8) *Decka*:—Dacca: The Dutch factory here is mentioned by Tavernier (1666): who attended a banquet given in his honour. It was surrendered to the East India Company in 1781. The site upon which it stood, and which is now partly occupied by the Mitford Hospital, is known in the old Collectorate papers as *Kuti Ollandaz*. The Portuguese had a factory at Dacca in Sangat-tola: and the English were also settled at Tezgaon at the time of Tavernier's visit. Manucci who came a few years earlier writes: "The city of Dhakah is the metropolis of the whole province of Bengal, where a Viceroy always resides who wields the greatest power, although when I reached it, Mir Jumla, the then Viceroy, was not there. The city of Dhakah, without being strong or large, has many inhabitants" (Storia do Mogor: ed. Irvine: Vol. II, p. 86). He mentions "two factories: one English and the other Dutch": also that "there were many Christians, white and black Portuguese, with a Church served by a friar called Agostino."

(9) By the *Isles of Anaans*, the Andamans appear to be intended: cf. Captain Alexander Hamilton (1727: "The Islands opposite the Coast of Tanacerim (Tenasserim) are the Andamans. They lie about 80 leagues off, and are surrounded by many dangerous Banks and Rocks: they are all inhabited with Canibals, who are so fearless that they will swim off to a Boat if she approach near the shore, and attack her with their wooden weapons." The charge of cannibalism, who has been persistently made, seems to be unfounded.

(10) *Ongueli*: Hooghly, also known as Ugolim (Bocarro, 1644): Golim (Fr. Manuel Godinho 1665): and Ogouli (Bernier). The Portuguese moved their factory here in 1570 from Satgaon (Porto Piqueno). The Dutch factory at Golaghat dates from 1650: and the English also settled there in the same year.

were forced to obey, seeing this General [140] threatned, in case of refusal, to seize upon all the Dutch in his Master's Kingdom, and make them Slaves.

We were forced, then, to yield, and in preparing our selves for a longer Voyage, than the first; were told, that this General, named Nabab (11) was a person very fortunate, having never lost a Battel, nor raised his Siege from any place, before he had carried it away; that he had taken several Cities, defeated whole Armies, and made several Kingdoms tributary to the great Mogul. These prosperous successes made us imbark with the better courage in following our Guides who were ordered to bring us to the Army.

We travelled thirty days together, sometimes by Land, and sometimes by Sea; passing by several Cities, made desolate; the inhabitants of the Countrey being wont, in time of War to leave their [141] Houses, to follow the Army, wheresoever it marches.

They are a sort of people, that are very just in their dealings, of an Affable Conversation, contenting themselves with few things; naturally Enemies to covetousness and ambition, yet quarrelsome and injurious; but in their greatest heats, never mention the Name of the Devil. As to oaths, they seldom use 'em, unless in matters of great concernment; and then so strictly observe 'em, that no consideration in the World can prevail with them, to violate 'em.

On the thirty fifth day, we went on Board one of the Vessels belonging to Nabab; where we found four English-men, some few Portugaises, and two Men of our Company, whom we already mentioned. From thence we went, and cast Anchor, near the city of Renguemati (12); from whence, within a small time we came, and were entertained [142] in the Army of the Great Mogul. The General, whom we saluted in his Tent, seemed glad to see us, and immediately ordered us a large Cup-full of Arak (13), to drink his health. The Cup was so closed, that 'twas a difficult matter for us to open it, and therefore the General gave it us on purpose, to divert himself with the humour of it. We took it each of us, one after another, in our hands, to no purpose; and were ready to give it over, when it came into my mind, that the Cup being only of Wood might be easily pierced. Whereupon I took it again, and made a hole in it, with the point of my knife. Being full to the brim, the Arak sprung out abundantly, and by this means we all drank of it, and used

(11) *Nabab*—Mir Jumla Muazzam Khan, Yar-i-Wafadar (faithful friend of the throne) was appointed Governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1660. By origin a Persian trader, he became prime minister to Abdullah Kutb Shah, the King of Golkonda: and later on entered the Mogul service.

(12) *Rangamati*: in the Goalpara district on the same bank of the Brahmaputra as Dhubri, but lying above it. Isa Khan, Masnad-i-Ali, the Bhuiya King of Khizarpur (circ. 1584) is said to have built a frontier fort there. It was the seat of a foudjar until the British period. "Rangamati was formed into a separate Collectorate and transferred from Rungpore previous to the Decennial Settlement." (Glasier, Notes on Rungpore Records). The district of Rangamati and Dhubri which had formerly been known as North Rungpore, lay on both sides of the Brahmaputra and extended eastwards to the then independent Kingdom of Assam.

(13) *Arak*: cf. Terry (Chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy, 1616): "Some small quantitie of Wine, but not common, is made among them: they call it Raack, distilled from Sugar and a spicie Rinde of a Tree called Jagra" (sc. Jaggery, palm, or wild date tree).

the liberty Nabab had given us, in saying, We must drink well, and fight well. This Liqueur was so strong, that we soon felt the effects of it [143] making us jolly, and confident with the General; who told us that at six months end, he would send us to those of our own Nation. He granted us the full enjoyment of all the booty we could take from the Enemy; and fifty Roupies for every Head we brought him; and an hundred for each Prisoner. In fine, he told the Master of our Ship, he would send him to the Factory, to inform them of the loss of their Vessel; and that he might take our Chirurgion with him, and our three boys, which were too young to serve in the Army. In the mean time the Arak made us so bold, that we had like to fall'n together by the Ears for Oranges, which were given us, because all had not a like share, without considering we were in the General's Tent. He winkt at our rudeness, and commanded his Chirurgion to carry us to his Tent, and drink there more moderately.

[144] The next Morning the General sent us three hundred Roupies, and assign'd us certain Vessels, called Gourapes (14), one of which carried fourteen Guns, and about fifty or sixty Men. Each Gourape was attended by four Kosses (15); which are Boats with Oars, to tow great Vessels. There were also several great Flat-bottom Boats, that carried no Mast, yet were well furnished with Guns. The greatest part of the Officers were Portugaises; and the General had so good an opinion of the Christians, that if a Moor could speak but a little of that Language, he commonly preferred him to some considerable Office. There were several other Vessels, laden only with Provision, and War-like Ammunition. We saw likewise, several Barges set forth with Streamers, wherein were the Wives of Persons of Quality, that followed the Army. The General had five hundred for his share. These [145] Women were kept by Eunuchs, made so in their tender years, who were in great credit with their Masters.

As soon as we were ordered to march, we sought the Vessel assign'd us, but I had the unhappyness to lose my self in that vast multitude of people, together with one of my Companions, and were eight days, before we could know where to betake our selves. This small mishap gave me the opportunity of an exact observation of the Army, which consisted of near three hundred thousand Horse, and five hundred thousand Foot (16). The General rode in the midst of the Cavalry; and before him marched several Trumpeters,

(14) *Gourapes*.—Arabic, *ghurab*, a square rigged two masted vessel: whence the English *grab*. Pyrard de Laval (circ. 1610) calls the royal galley "Ogate Gourabe." F. B. Solvyns (*Les Hindous*, 1811) gives the *grab* three masts and says that "its crew consists of a Nicodiar or Captain, and a few clashies (*khalasies*) or Moorish sailors."

(15) *Kosses*.—Bengali *kosa*, a rowing boat. The Joanshahi pergana in the Mymensingh district used to supply twenty *kosas* to the Imperial Nawara (navy): and the two shares into which it is now divided and which paid for the equipment of $10\frac{1}{2}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ *kosas* respectively, are still known as the Dashkosha and Naukosha zemindaries.

(16) "On November 1, 1661, the Viceroy started from Dacca with an army of 12,000 horse and 30,000 foot. A powerful flotilla of war vessels (at least 323 of all kinds) accompanied him." J. N. Sarkor, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 179.

and Kettle-Drummers, mounted on Elephants, He was followed by twenty of these Animals, each of them carrying two small pieces of Cannon, two Gunners, with as many chargers (17). After these came three or four thousand [146] Moscovites (18), all extraordinarily well mounted.

Several thousands of Cammels, laden with the Baggage, were followed by all sorts of Merchants, Artisans, Curtisans; some mounted on Cammels, others on Horses. 'Twas told us, that this great Body stood the Mogol, in every day, above Five Millions; the greatest part of which, were paid by the Curtisans, and Merchants, that followed the Army. Which is no hard matter to believe, because I knew in that Countrey, the Cities were destitute of all Trade in time of War, and therefore the Inhabitants were forced to follow the Army; by which means, it abounded with all necessities, excepting strong drinks, the use of which was only permitted to Christians, because the Moors in drinking never so small a quantity, became cruel, and bloody minded.

After a long march, we entred [147] into Kosbia (19), a Country lying between the Kingdoms of Bengala, and Azo (20) of which the General easily became Master. The King of Azo imagined the Walls of his capital City, were proof against our Cannon, and believed himself secure; but soon found the contrary, for we took his City by assault, and made him Prisoner (21).

(17) Loaders : *chargeurs* in French original.

(18) *Moscovites*—The word also occurs in the French original. Possibly Turkis are intended. The intercourse of Russia with India was very slight: but cf. the following: "Kuzzuck (Cossack) is used about Delhi for a highwayman: can it be an Arabic *mobaligh* (exaggeration) from *Kisk* (plunder) applied to all predatory tribes?" (Mountstuart Elphinstone, *Life* by Sir Edward Colebrooke, 1884: Vol. I, p. 264). As to Turks or Turkis, see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, edited by Gholam Yazdani (Govt. of India Press, 1924) at p. 22: "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we invariably find Turkish officers and engineers in charge of the artillery." Sarkar (*History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 190) mentions that Turki soldiers accompanied Mir Jumla.

(19) *Kosbia*—Cooch Behar. In 1581 the Koch King Nar Narayan divided his kingdom, retaining the portion west of the Sankosh (Koch Bihar) and making over to his nephew the tract east of that river (Koch Hajo, the modern Kamrup). Ralph Fitch who visited the "country of Couch" in 1586, says: "The people have ears which be marvellous great, of a span long, which they draw out by devices when young." This practice has been abandoned by the Koches, but still obtains among the Garos. The Moguls annexed Koch Hajo in 1612: but it fell into the hands of the Ahoms in 1657. Mir Jumla failed to capture the Raja of Cooch Behar, who escaped to Bhutan.

(20) *Azo*:—Hajo, now in the Kamrup district on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, fifteen miles by road from Gauhati. Cf. D'Anville (*Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l'Inde*, 1753): "Ceste rivière (Brahmapoutra) en remontant, conduit à Rangamoti et à Azoo qui font la frontière de l'état du Mogol. Azoo est une forteresse que l'Emir Jemla, sous le règne d'Aorangzèbe, reprit sur le roi d'Asham, comme une dependance de Bengole." In Valentijn's map of Bengal (cir. 1660) we have Cos (Cooch) Assam, with Azo as capital. Hajo is famous for its Manikut or Hayagrib temple, which is dedicated to Siva and stands on the top of a low hill. It is visited by pilgrims from all parts of India.

(21) Manucci describes the capture of Hajo, but is silent as to the fate of the King. "These two forces (by land and water) reached, at a distance of one hundred leagues from Dhakah, a small fortress named Azo, which years before this time the Assamese had taken from the province of Bengal: in a short time Mir Jumla captured the fort" (*Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II,

He had an Iron Collar, fastened about his Neck, whence hung two Great Chains, which were fixed also to his Legs, and in this manner was served by four Pages. A while after the King was taken Prisoner, the General was shewed several Caves made into rocks, wherein was hid his Treasure, the rest became the Souldiers booty, and we thought all to enrich our selves, but were mistaken; for besides that, these people wear no other Cloathing, than a piece of Linnen, which reaches from their Waste, down to their Knees; they had so well hid [148] every thing of value, that we could find nothing but a Pot of Rice, and a Box full of Tow, and some Leaves, which they chew continually, to cleanse their mouths (22). We were troubled to find our expectations thus frustrated, especially considering the smallness of our Wages, which were not sufficient to maintain us, being no more than ten Crowns a Month, and Provision was very dear. The reason why we had no more, was, because we served by constraint, whereas the English and Portugaises that went voluntiers, received monthly twenty five Crowns a Man.

Some days after, the General required our two Carpenters assistance, in the building him a stately Vessel, from a model he shewed them. Which finished he promised 'em their liberty. They accepted the proposal, and were sent to Decka, where they finished their undertaking, to the General's content [149] who kept his word with them.

It was demanded of us, at the same time, whether either of us, was willing to accept the Government of the Castle of Agra, and for our encouragement, there were several advantagious offers made us; but they could not prevail with us, especially considering we were to live amongst Moors; and that such an employ, perhaps, would so fix us in that Countrey, that we should never get out of it.

The General being a Man of dispatch, immediately after the overthrow of the King of Azo, hastened towards the Countrys belonging to the King of Assam, who was one of the Mogols chiefest Enemies (23). 'Twas said, that this King having notice of his march, derided his discretion, wondering, that with eight hundred thousand Men only, he should undertake that [150] which two Millions of Men could not atchieve. In effect, it seemed to be a rash Enterprize, and that the Example of so prodigious an Army, which lately perished in the same Parts where we went (24), should have deterred our

p. 98). According to Bernier the siege lasted fifteen days. There is no reference by him to Cooch Behar. The Fathiyah (which is followed by Sarkar) records the capture of the capital of Cooch Behar (which was re-named Alamgirnagar) but makes no mention of Hajo.

(22) The leaves of the piper betel. cf. Sir Thomas Roe's Narrative (1615) where he described Jehangir as "chewing Bittle and lime of Oyster shells, with a Kernell of Nut called Arraca, like an Akorne; it bites in the mouth, accords rheume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their Phisicke."

(23) The King of Assam was Sutamla, who on ascending the throne in 1648 assumed the Hindu name of Jayadhwaj Singh (Gait, History of Assam). He had driven the Muhammadan faujdar out of Gauhati and made himself master of the whole of the Brahmaputra valley.

(24) This may refer to the disastrous defeat in 1636 of Abdus Salam, the Muhammadan Governor of Hajo, when three hundred boats of all sizes and three hundred cannon were captured.

General. But so far was he from being discouraged by this consideration, that the greatness of the danger served only to heighten his courage; and lest the Flood, which every six Months overflowed the greatest part of this Kingdom, should hinder his project he advanced with great expedition, and arrived before that time, at the place he intended (25). As soon as we were in the Enemies Countrey, a general consternation seized upon them; and the fame of Nabab's Fortune, caused infinite numbers of the Enemy's Subjects to come over to his side, as the surest.

In the mean time, the English, and we, having observed all the [151] signs of an approaching tempest, carefully viewed, and repaired our Vessels; but all our pre-cautions could not hinder its sinking: For not being Ballasted, the Currents overturned it, and that which hastened our loss, was the Sottish, and Extravagant curiosity of a Marriner, that had the management of it. This Man, to try experiments, would needs have all the Sails hoisted up, which was no sooner done, but our Vessel sunk. There were Boats enough to help us, had custom permitted it; but in like accidents, the Moors help no Body, nor their near Kindred, or intimate Friends. Yet by good help, there was a lusty well-shaped Woman, who seeing five Hollanders upon the point of drowning, rowed up to them, and maugre two Men that withstood her, received them into her Boat.

The River Ganges (26) is of very unequal breadth, being in some places [152] a League, in others a League and an half wide; so that when the Wind is high, this River abounds with Waves and Billows, no ways inferiour to those of the Sea. There were lost by this accident four Dutch-men, and twenty four Moors; and I had ran the same Fate, had not I (after four hours swimming towards the Land) met with a Vessel, Commanded by Englishmen. As soon as I made my self known to them, they sent forth above sixty Men to my assistance, who took me into their Boat, where they gave me what was necessary. In fine, they carried me on Board their Vessel, where I found one of my country-men, on whom the English had shew'd the same compassion. The next Morning we thank't our Benefactors, and went to the Army, where we sought an occasion of admittance to the General.

The loss of his Vessel was but [153] bad news to carry him, yet we could not but make it known to him, for we know not where to bestow our selves. As soon as he heard it, he fell into such a Fit of passion, that we believed

(25) Mir Jumla remained sixteen days at Cooch Behar and began his invasion of Assam on January 4, 1662. "Fort after fort was occupied. Jogighopa at the mouth of the Monas river (opposite Coalpara) on January 20, Gauhati, Srighat at the mouth of the Bar Nadi (February 5) Pandu, Beltola and Kajali at the mouth of the Kallang—most of which the enemy evacuated" (Sarkar). A halt of three days was made at Gauhati: and then the army started on its march to Garhgaon, the Ahom capital. The passage to the south bank in small boats took two days. The fort of Simlagarh was taken on February 25 after a feeble resistance: and Mir Jumla advanced to Koliabar in the Nowgong district, where he remained for three days (Gait, History of Assam). It was off Koliabar that the fleet was attacked by the Ahoms.

(26) The Brahmaputra is meant. Cr. James Rennell (Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, 1793): "Till the year 1765 the Burrampootur, as a capital river was unknown in Europe."

we should be both hanged or worse. At length he commanded us to withdraw, and choose what vessel we had a mind to, the Enemy's Fleet being expected every moment.

We were heartily glad we came off so well; four of our Companions went on board a Gourape; and two others, and my self, chose a Bark, that carried six pieces of Cannon.

Two days after, our Admiral set Sail, in search of the Enemy, attended by the whole Fleet. We immediately heard a continual roaring of Guns, whence we inferred the Land Army was engaged; but as to our parts, we could not so soon joyn the Enemy, being (as it was thought) at a great distance [154] from us. When the Admiral had set his Fleet in order, the General's Chirurgion, who was of our Nation (27), and a Lover of his Countrey, exhorted us to behave our selves, answerable to the good opinion they had of our Countrey-men. Representing to us, that when we come to engage, the whole Fleet will take notice of the Christians, and especially of us, who were greatly esteemed by the Moors. That 'twas the Companies interest, we should keep up our Reputation, and that we might have a great share in the glory of that days actions.

Although the Wind was little favourable to us, yet we followed in our course; and three or four hours after dasht against a Rock, which struck off our Helm. At length we recovered it, and having fixt it in its right place, held on our course. Not long after we discovered the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of six hundred sail. [155] Although we were in search of them, yet were greatly surprised to see those so near us, whom we believed to be farther og. As soon as the Enemy perceived us, they advanced towards us, and we tarried expecting them, as well out of necessity, as bravery, the contrary Wind hindering us from retreating. Whilst they made up towards us, we sat down at Table, which we had no sooner done, but a dish of Meat that was set thereon, was carried away by a Cannon Bullet, which did us no other harm, but that of depriving us of our allowance. Whereupon we betook our selves to our Guns, and from that time till midnight, ceased not Firing on our side, and were answered in the same manner by the Enemy. An hour after the Enemy withdrew, there came another vessel to our assistance, which was commanded by a Moorish Prince, called Menorcan (28), who had

(27) The name of the Dutch Surgeon was Gelmar Vorburg. Irvine in the notes to his edition of Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, Vol. IV. p. 430) mentions that the Batavia "Dagh Register" (entry of April 8, 1663) contains a reference to a letter of December 10. 1662, from Vorburg in Assam. The Khan Khanan (Mir Jumla) was then forty *kos* from "Gargam." Doubts are expressed whether he will succeed: he has already lost two-thirds of his men and horses by disease. Only 4000 horsemen are left and everybody, except the Nawab, who is well and active, is suffering from swellings or is ill. It so happened, however, that on that very day (December 10) Mir Jumla was attacked by high fever which was followed by pleurisy (Sarkar).

(28) *Menorcan*—Munawar Khan who according to the Dacca District Gazeteer (ed. Allen, p. 25) was the great grandson of Isa Khan, who submitted in 1658 to the Emperor and received a grant of twenty-two *parganas* in the Dacca district, of which some are still described as

set out [156] thirty Vessels at his own charge, for the service of the great Mogol. This Prince observing our post to be dangerous, assisted us in such a manner, that we got the Wind of the Enemy. As soon as we had cast Anchor, he left us, promising to return the next morning, with the whole Fleet. He had not gotten far, before we perceived six Sails making towards us. Five of which, could not surmount the force of the Currents, but the sixth came so near, as to give us a broad side. But as soon as a fair opportunity offered, we boarded her and quickly became Masters of her. So that we took the first prize on the Enemy. Having taken out of this Vessel, whatever was of any value, to avoid further trouble, we set her on fire. Half an hour after, eight or nine of the Enemy's Vessels made towards us, and this number daunted us, wherefore we weighed Anchor, and sheltered our selves under the Dutch and [157] Portugaise Vessels, which made 'em cease pursuing us. At day-breek we found our Admiral (29) was still a League off of us. The whole Fleet (of which the Dutch and Portugaise led the Van) were in good order, and advanced towards the Enemy, as fast as the little Wind, which then blew would permit 'em. As to our parts, the Currents were against us, wherefore we were forced to be towed by Moors, that went on shoar for that purpose. In the mean time, a Trumpet, accompanied with Ten or Twelve Horse, coming from the General, who believed, upon a false report, we were lost, called out to us several times from the shore, Sauwas Hollanders. The word Sauwas signifies Courage (30). Being near, they inform'd us, how greatly the General was troubled, at the false report of a Moor, who brought him word, that the Vessels commanded by the English, Dutch, and Portugaise [158] were lost. They returned then towards their Master; who better informed of the matter, caused the tongue of the Moor (who brought him that false news) to be cut out, and he to be whipt with a whip, which they call Chamboe (31), every lash of which cuts as deep as a Razor.

Notwithstanding the force of the Currents, and the great advantages the Enemy had over us, we got the Wind of them; and from that time, never ceased Firing upon them; and at length, were seconded by our whole Fleet.

being situated in tappa Isa Khan. According, however, to the Mymensingh District Gazetteer (ed. Sachse, 1917) he was a Moslem convert from the Kastil Dutt family. He certainly bore the title of Sardar-i-Sairab or "cruising admiral" (J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzebe, Vol. III, p. 231). Early in 1664 the Chittagong pirates came to Bagadia, in the Dacca district, and defeated him. "The few war vessels that still belonged to the nawara (navy) were thus lost, and its name alone was left in Bengal" (Fathiya, quoted *ibid*). A bazar near the Dacca railway station is known as Munawar Khan's bazar: this portion of Dacca being included in the Kurikhai pargana which was once held by the family of Isa Khan.

(29) The name of the Admiral was Ibn Husain.—*Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah*.

(30) *Sauwas*—Persian *Shah-bash*.

(31) *Chamboe*—Persian *Chaubuk*: used in Hindustani to signify a horse-whip: also used in Malaya (*chabok*) and at the Cape (*sjambok*). cf. the "Song by a Gentleman of the Navy" who was a prisoner of Hyde- Ali (1784) quoted in Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 18:

With Muskets and Chawbucks secure,
They guard us in Bangalore Jail.

When the Enemy saw it approaching they set forth such great shouts, as wou'd made a Man think all was already lost. Yet did they courageously defend themselves, and for three hours together, the victory inclined to neither side. From that time their heat abated, and they began to shift their station, and were so closely plyed, that they left their Vessels [159], and ran to shoar, where finding they were pursued, they endeavoured, but in vain, to possess themselves of a high Bank, for we followed 'em so close, that we slew almost all of them, being ordered to give no quarter. We took three hundred of their Vessels (32), the least of which, carried seventy Men; and of this whole number, there escaped not above fifty, whom the King (enraged his orders were no better observed) condemned to suffer the most grievous punishment.

Those that had still some Life remaining in them, were tyed to Stakes, where the Soldiers put an end to their Lives, with their Arrows. Thus perished this numerous, and mighty Army; of which, very few escaped, to carry the news of the loss of the rest. The Admiral having disguised himself, was notwithstanding, taken Prisoner, and released at the intercession of [160] some of the General's principal Officers. As to the booty, 'twas not considerable, consisting only in Powder, Lead, and some pieces of Cannon.

It was discoursed, that the fault of this Admiral was the less excusable, inasmuch as he had neglected the orders of his Prince; who commanded him to go with six hundred Sail, to expect us above the City of Goaeti (33). Which was a very advantageous post, as well to hinder us from taking any provision, as to block us up in the Countrey; but he chose rather to be guided by his own fancy, imagining the shouts of his Fleet would dismay us.

The three hundred Vessels that escaped, unhappily cast Anchor at about a quarter of a Leagues distance from the General, who advanced up the Countrey with all possible expedition. As soon as he knew where they were, he brought [161] two or three hundred pieces of Cannon, and planted 'em against them, and sunk the greatest part of them; the rest past over to the other side of the River, where our Vessels pursued them with success. Some of 'em wheeled about, thro by ways, where the Moors found, and slew them.

The Enemy's Fleet being thus routed, we passed by the Foot of a steep

(32) "A very powerful Assamese fleet appeared one day and came down with the stream in its favour, it looked as if it would swallow up the Portuguese and their boats. But the latter warded them off, and the force of the current carried the Assamese past their goal, the Portuguese meanwhile making a great din with their mortars and matchlocks. When the Assamese had passed their enemy, they veered, but the Portuguese fell upon them with such impetuosity that in a little the whole of their fleet was destroyed." (*Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 93). Sarkar gives the date of the battle as the night of March 3; and states (as in the text) that 300 boats were taken. The *Buranjis* or Ahom chronicles make no mention of the engagement.

The *bacharis*, or war sloops of the Ahoms were slower than the Bengali *kosas*, which they resembled.

(33) Gauhati. Described by Buchanan Hamilton in 1809 as "a very poor place": but when occupied by Captain Welsh in 1792, with a force of 360 sepoys, it was "an extensive and populous town." Along the river bank was a rampart, on which were mounted 113 guns of different calibre, including three of European manufacture.

Rock, where was built a Fortress of difficult access (34). Yet was it abandoned, but 'twas to draw us farther into the Country. From thence we came to the City of Gueragan (35), whence the King fled (36): and our Admiral cast Anchor before the City of Lokwa (37), situated about six Leagues from thence. Some time after, the General Commanded the chief of the Fleet, to send him Money, and Provisions for the Army. Whereupon our Commanders sent him Six Boats, two laden with Gold, and four [162] with Silver, but the six boats unfortunately fell into the Enemy's hand, who in the heat of the surprisal, slew the greatest part of the Men. They reserved some Christians for their pleasure, under whose Arms, they fastened several wisps of Straw, stuff with Powder; and when these wisps were consumed, they fastened others in like manner in their places, till such time as they expired. The pleasure of these Barbarians, was to hear the screams of these poor wretches, who, the louder they cryed, the more they rejoiced these cruel Monsters. Those that escaped into the Woods, came at night to the Army, which was in great distress, the Water being already so high, that 'twas impossible to return back.

The Army lay Encamped in a place (38) full of fruitful Trees, and sowed with excellent Rice. The Mountains yield Pepper, Agra wood, Sanders (39),

(34) Salagarh in the Nowgong district at the mouth of the Bharali river above Koliabar. It was evacuated by the Ahom force which was operating on the north bank of the Brahmaputra.

(35) Garhgaon.—the ancient Ahom capital, is in the Sibsagar district. J. M. Foster (J.A.S.B. 1872, Part I, p. 38) says that the palace of the Rajah is situated nearly in the centre of a large enclosed space about a mile from the river Dikhu and nine miles east of the town of Sibsagar (also known as Rungpore). The building was then rapidly crumbling away. The spoil taken by Mir Jumla included 82 elephants, 675 pieces of artillery (one of which could discharge a ball weighing three maunds), a thousand and odd boats, three lakhs of rupees in cash, and 173 storehouses of paddy. (Fathiyah, quoted by Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 183). Cf. Manucci (Storia do Mogor, Vol. II, p. 100): "When I passed through Dhakah I saw huge boats which Mir Jumla was sending loaded with the booty taken at Guergaô and other places. These boats had extremely high poops, carved with ugly awe-inspiring faces. Their armament was of small pieces, swivel-guns and petrachos ("ammunition": query petardos, mortars) of bronze, of which the muzzles were fashioned into shapes of animals, tigers, lions, dogs, elephants, and crocodiles." On the other hand, not the least interesting of the relics of this period is a cannon now at Dikom bearing two inscriptions, the one in Persian stating that it was made for use in the conquest of Assam, and the other in Sanskrit recording its capture by the Ahoms from the Muhammadans in battle (Gazetteer of India, s.v. Assam, Vol. VI, p. 29).

(36) "The King fled"—Manucci says: "Mir Jumla fighting bravely, ejected the King" (Storia do Mogor, Vol. II, p. 100). Sarkar, following the Mahomedan historians, says that no resistance was offered. The climate of Namrup (in the Naga Hills) where the Ahom King took refuge is described by the author of the *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah*, as so deadly that, according to an Assamese proverb, "if steel enters the ground, it turns to wax" (Gait).

(37) Lakhu or Lakhugarh. Mir Jumla arrived there on March 9. It lies at the junction of the old beds of the Brahmaputra and the Dihing. The river Dikhu upon which Garhgaon stood was so shallow that the fleet was left at Lakha. Garhgaon which was some eighteen miles away was entered on March 17.

(38) The encampment was at Mathurapur, seven miles south east of Garhgaon. The author of the *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah* gives a description of the Ahom capital, which is reproduced by Gait (pp. 141-142): See also article by J. M. Foster (J.A.S.B. 1872, Part I, pp. 31-41).

(39) Sanders.—Sandal-wood, the wood of *pterocarpus santalina*.

and Simples, that are sold for [163] their weight in Gold. As to this metal 'tis not scarce(40); and Elephants are so common (41), that the country, as fruitful as 'tis, is not sufficient to feed them; therefore they are always lean.

We chose in this pleasant Countrey, a proper place to Intrench ourselves, and cut down, to prevent surprisals, all the Trees round about us. We sent scouts every day to observe the Enemy's motions. Those that fell into the hands of our party, were cruelly scourged, and then had their Heads cut off, which were hung up in Baskets upon the boughs of Trees. When they were too numerous to be all made Prisoners, they cut off the Heads of the greatest part, and hung about the Necks of every one of the rest, two of these Heads, which they were made to carry into the Camp; where they were cruelly whipt; and when 'twas judged they were near expiring, they had likewise, their Heads severed [164] from their Bodies; which were hanged, like the rest, in Panniers, upon the boughs of Trees. Some had stakes drove through them alive. Others had four double hooks thrust down their Bellies, which tore their Bowels; and in this condition, were carried to the places the Enemy frequented; to the end the horror of the Torment they endured, might move them to forsake the weakest side.

If these punishments were cruel, those of the Enemy were no less, for they made their Prisoners languish so long in their Torments, as would have moved the most obdurate to pity. Having made 'em expire by their cruel usage, they fastened them, standing bolt upright, to stakes, upon flat-bottom Boats, and sent them thus down the River, either towards the Army, or the Fleet; where they became such a sad spectacle, that they could not be beheld without dread and horror.

[165] As to those that renderd themselves, they were received with great expressions of kindness. There came likewise to our Camp, Ambassadors from the King of the Antropophages, or Man-eaters (42); offering the assistance of his Army, against the King of Assam's Subjects; but the small sincerity of these people being known, their offers were not accepted, yet were they sent away, with assurances of the great Mogol's Friendship, provided they assisted not his Enemies.

These people had fierce looks, a rough carriage, and the Mine of persons that eat others alive. In effect, they fed on Human Flesh, scrupling to Interr their Dead, whom they design'd for a better use. Those that are sick amongst them, and in a languishing condition, are knockt on the Head, and eaten; and this is all the charity they have one for another. They possess all things [166]

(40) Gold was found in the rivers, and about ten thousand persons were engaged in washing for it. (*Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah*, quoted by Gait.)

(41) Wild elephants were so numerous that a catch of one hundred and twenty in a single drive is mentioned (*ibid*).

(42) The reference must be to the head-hunting proclivities of the Nagas. S. E. Peal in an article in J.A.S.B. 1872 (Part I, p. 19) found about 350 skulls in the morrang in the village of Banpara which he visited. "The Naga who brings in a head receives the *ak* or decoration by tattoo from the Rajah and can assist in the councils of State. Women and children are as often killed as men, and without compunction." [1702]

in Common, carrying what they steal from strangers, to the Common Heap, where they have all an equal portion. When we told them, their way of living was contrary to the rest of Mankind, it being unnatural to eat their fellow Creatures; they replied, Opinion, and Custom, made all these things either good or bad; and that a Man cannot do ill in following those he found established.

There were in our Army certain Soldiers, whose Maxim was, Never to give back; and to dye, rather than abandon the Post assigned them (43). Those that dye thus, are sure of Salvation; whereas, those that behaved themselves cowardly, and were slain, were certainly Damned. This opinion renders 'em valiant, which is not such a Barbarous one as we are apt to imagine, seeing many in the most civilized Nations have asserted it, extremely meritorious, to dye for one's [167] Country. The General had 'honoured us, with a high Character of our Valour, so that the only report of our name, stood him in as much stead as an Army. Those on the Enemy's side, who fled over to us, had such a great esteem for us, that they made room for us, wheresoever we went. The Moors shewed us the same respect; but those dreadful fellows I now mention'd, kept their gravity with us, claiming precedency in all counters, which for quietness sake we granted them.

Next after the Dutch, certain Armenian Horse-men, were in greatest esteem; as well for that they were Christians, as that they continually kept good Horses, and observed good order. Our Reputation thus up, the Admiral judged us the most fitting persons to take charge of the Artillery. For which purpose, he made us very advantageous proffers; but we liked neither [168] the Country, nor Manners of its People; and therefore intreated him to pitch upon some others, to whom this employ would be more agreeable, than to us, who were not so well versed in the Tongue, as to make our selves obeyed, which reason satisfied him.

Every New Moon is a Festival with the Moors, which day begins with the discharge of all the great Guns; after which, the Soldiers are paid, and this payment consists of fifty Roupies, or 25 Crowns, for every Horse-man, some have a hundred paid them, others thirty, twenty, and others again, only ten. The Foot Soldiers pay is but small, being not above five or six Roupies a Month. As to the Slaves, who work almost both day and night, they have scarcely any thing, or that which is given them, is so inconsiderable, that the greatest part of them dye of hunger. These Slaves are Indians, who eat [169] nothing endued with life; and their superstition is such, that how great soever their hunger may be, they choose rather to dye, than to eat either Fish or Flesh. Their Food consists chiefly of Rice, and when they are destitute of it (which happens not seldom) they dye willingly; not doubting but this kind of death, procures them Eternal Life. These poor Wretches Discourses were continually concerning the contempt of abundance, and the excellency of want. They

(43) The reference seems to be to the Rajput soldiers who were under the command of Rajah Subhan Singh (*Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah*).

could not comprehend, how those that live in plenty in this World, can be happy in the next; and in this imagination, take their misery for a mark of their Election.

The inhabitants of the Country of Assam, are another sort of superstitious people, who worship a Cow, and consequently never kill any of that kind. Their Temples are full of Images of these Creatures, the greatest part made of [170] Gold and Silver, and some few of Brass.

About three Leagues distance from the place where our Vessel lay, stood a Temple, which we pillaged, and carried away one of these Golden Cows, which was divided amongst us. It was no small grief to these poor Pagans, to see their Divinity thus taken from them, and yet they sold us Cows at a cheap rate, for we did not pay above two shillings for the best. What sottishness, said I, within my self, are these people guilty of, to sell their Gods; 'tis true, we were forced to promise, we would not kill 'em, but they knew the contrary; and when we blamed their silly humour, they demanded of us, whether the Christians had none, and whether their actions answer'd the Religion they professed.

Our Vessel lying at a great distance from the Army, we knew but one part of what hapned there, [171] and although we understood, they were in ill circumstances (44), yet we could never have believed there dyed so many thousands of Men, had not the River brought them to us. The Water became so infected, by the prodigious quantity of dead Bodies thrown therein, that several persons perished by that means; wherefore, at length, we boyled the Water, before we used it.

After three Months stay, the Water having been continually at that height, that 'twas impossible to come out of our Trenches, the Enemy believed we were starved, and consequently, that we might be easily defeated (45). In truth, hunger pressed us very sorely, and the greatest part of the Army were forced to kill the Camels, and Elephants, for their sustenance. The Enemy, then, coming down, almost certain of the Victory; our General commanded, to let them [172] draw near, as if the whole Army had been dead; and in the mean time, made the Horse to fetch a round, to hem them in: his stratagem took effect, for as soon as they began to attack us, they were charged by our Horse, and wholly defeated, leaving their twenty thousand dead in the place. There were not above ten Men wounded on our side, and since this skirmish, the Waters fell insensibly, so that we had order to be ready to give battel.

Whilst we were preparing, our General caused several Waggon's to be laden with provision, and sent them to the King of Assam, charging his Messengers to tell him, he sent him this present for his supply, in case he wanted it. For as for his own part, he had more than he needed for his Armys sub-

(44) With the progress of the rains Mir Jumla was compelled to concentrate his forces at Garhgaon and Mathurapur. All the rest of the country was re-occupied by the Ahoms, and the King returned from Namrup to Solagari, only four stages distant from Garhgaon (Gait).

(45) Garhgaon and Mathurapur were so closely invested that if a man ventured to leave the camp, he was certain to be shot.

sistance this six months. Our General's drift was to Allarm the King of Assam, who design'd at that [173] time to retire to the Mountains, having lost all hope of being able to resist. This Prince understood the General's design; and saw well, this was a kind of Summons, to render himself at discretion; but he knew too well his Enemy, to expect any favour from him; and therefore chose rather to send him word, that he loved himself too well to entrust his person with any one, but was willing to yield to any reasonable terms (46). This answer discovered the Enemy's weakness, and the General who was enraged, that he had insulted over him, within his Trenches, resolved to make him repent it. He told his chief Officers then his resolutions to give Battel, which they all readily agreed to. Amongst others, there was one (47) that spake thus, My Lord, says he, to the General, when we came into these parts first, we had four Armies, all in good order, and disposition, whereas now we [174] have not one that deserves that name. The greatest part of the Soldiers of these four Armies, being either dead, or in a sick and languishing condition. Why then do we not immediately march up to the Enemy? Shall we tarry till all our forces are spent? And will it not be more glorious for our Monarch, and honourable for such a Captain as you, to go and insult over the Enemy, than to lye languishing here, where a longer stay cannot but be most shameful. The freedom with which this person spake, had a good effect; for the General resolved to follow his advice, in case the King of Assam refused to accept the following conditions; To wit, that this Prince should give the General half of his Kingdom, and the youngest of his Daughters for his Concubine; two thousand Elephants, some Millions of ready Money, and his richest Vessels full of excellent roots, with which the Countrey abounded, [175] and which are of inestimable value. Although the General's Army was in very great distress, yet his Enemy accepted these conditions; and this unexpected Peace came very seasonably, for 'tis certain that never any Army was in a worse condition (48).

As soon as the Waters were sufficiently fall'n, we hastened to pack up our Baggage, being glad to leave this wretched post, for 'tis certain we were so tired, that had the Enemy set upon us, we could scarce been able to make resistance.

As for riches we wanted them not, having found good store in Graves. It being this peoples custom, to Interr with their Dead, their best Apparel, Money, and greatest part of their Servants; whom they bury alive, to bear their Masters company. So far are these poor wretches from bemoaning their condition in this respect, that they are on the contrary, [176] exceedingly joyous,

(46) Negotiations appear to have been opened: and the Muhammadan writers assert that the Ahom Commander in Chief agreed to the terms offered subject to the approval of the King, but changed his mind when, owing to an outbreak of epidemic disease at Mathurapur, Mir Jumla withdrew the main body of his army to Garhgaon.

(47) Dilir Khan: whose severe defeat of the Ahoms put an end to the night attacks on Mathurapur.

(48) Mir Jumla gave the order to return to Bengal on January 6, 1663.



MIR JUMLA.

From a Portrait in the Collection of Rao Bahadur Parasnis at Satara

to follow their Masters into a Countrey, where they hope in three days time to become great Personages, which are not to be had here.

Our General caused several of these Tombs to be opened, wherein were found vast Treasures, which he carried away with him, but which he enjoyed but a small time; for he died soon after (49); and according to the custom of the great Mogol's Empire, which is, that this Prince becomes Heir to all those that dye in his Countreys, the Acquests of the General, which were to the value of four Millions, fell to this Monarch. And thus have I given you a Relation of what I saw in this War against the King of Assam; all which was written by a Physician of Montpellier, who was then in the service of the great Mogol (50).

Prince Jemla, or the Emir [177] (for 'tis thus they called our General) having signaliz'd himself in several Rencounters, and driven out Sultan Sujah (Brother of Auren Zeb) from the Kingdom of Bengala (51), he entreated the Mogol to send him his Wife and Children, to live with them, in a place he had chosen, remote from noise, and business, of which his great age rendred him uncappable. He imagined that this Prince (whose Throne he came now from settling, in subduing his Brethren, who disturbed him in the possession of the Empire) could not well refuse him his demands. But he was mistaken, as Auren Zeb was of a piercing judgment, and knew Jemla to be the Soldiers darling, and the Peoples Favourite. That he was a great Politician, a Wise and Valiant Captain, and the wealthiest in all the Empire. He was sensible of his ambitious designs, and that he aspired to set up his Son Mahomet Emirkin, on the Throne of Bengala.

[178] On the other side he considered, 'twas dangerous to displease such a powerful Man; so that he not only granted him what he demanded, but created him also Mir-Ul-Omrag (52), a dignity belonging only to the second Person in the Empire. And as to his Son, he made him Bacchis, or General

(49) Mir Jumla died at Khizarpur, about a mile north of Narayanguge, on March 31, 1663, His adversary, Jagadhwaj Singh, died in the November following.

(50) The "physician of Montpellier" is none other than François Bernier, whose account of Mir Jumla's expedition to Assam may be found in the appendix on page post. The following testimony to the merits of Bernier is not as well-known as it should be. It will be found in the diary of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester, who was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1802 to 1817:

May 10, 1815.—Lord Liverpool lent me Bernier's *Voyages to India*, a scarce book, in 2 vols. 12mo. 1710. He was physician to Aurangzebe: and this little book is considered by Mr. Hastings and Lord Wellesley, and all persons acquainted with India as containing by far the best account of the country and manners that exists even to this time.

According to the bibliography in Constable's edition this was a reprint in French of the Amsterdam edition of 1699, which was also in French.

(51) Sultan Shujah, after his defeat by Aurangzebe in January 1659, at Khajwa in the Fatehpur district, was pursued by Mir Jumla across Bengal to Dacca, and driven thence in May 1660 across the Arakan frontier, where he and his family were all murdered.

(52) *Mir-ul-Omrag*.—Amir-ul-Umara (Ameer of Ameer or Lord of Lords). The title is borne by the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, who is lineally descended from Mir Jaffir, by virtue of his rank as premier nobleman of Bengal.

of the Horse (53), a place of great consequence, but which, requires him that possesses, never to stir out of the Court. No project could be more effectual for the hindering the designs of Prince Jemlar, for by this means he was parted from his Son, who could not be separated from his Father under a fairer pretence, than by being tyed to the Court by so splendid an Office. Jemla well perceived Auren-Zeb's design, and being not able to devise a way presently to avoid it, yielded to necessity, expecting the change of affairs would furnish him with means, to have that by force which he could not obtain by subtilty. These [179] two great Men were jealous of one another, and being in a manner equally powerful, they mutually plyed each other with kindness, whilst both secretly endeavoured to strengthen their parties. The year being passed over in Reciprocal dissimulations, Auren-Zeb plainly perceived the Emir was not a Man to lye still. He judged then, 'twere better to employ him abroad, than to give him time to trouble his Government; and therefore proposed to the Emir, the undertaking of that great expedition, of which this latter had sometime heretofore discoursed to him. Which was, to march against the Raja or King of Assam, whose Countrey lyes Northward off the Kingdom of Deka, which is near the Gulf of Bengala (54). 'Tis true, the Emir had formerly mentioned it, to Auren-Zeb, who foreseeing the honour, which would redound to him from his Conquests, objected, at first [180] several difficulties, but afterwards, thought requisit to embrace the motion, that he might thereby be rid of the Emir, and keep him employed. Although the Emir doubted not his design, yet he obeyed without hesitating, and joyfully prepared himself for an undertaking, by which, he was sure to establish, and encrease his Reputation. He embarked, then, with his Army, on a River, whose source arises in that same Country (55), and after about some sixty Leagues Sailing, arrived at the Castle of Azo, which the Raja of Acham had long since taken from the King of Bengala. The Emir attackt this place, and took it in fifteen days.

He afterwards marched towards Chamdara (56), lying near the Country of Assam, where within a month, he gave Battel to the King of Assam, and worsted him. This Prince being vanquished, withdrew into his chief City, (called Guerguon) where [181] being followed by the Emir some five days after, he secured himself in the Mountains of Lassa; and to render his escape more easie, left his treasures behind him, with which the Emir augmented his: These Mountains being unaccessible to an Army, the Emir could not follow his Enemy;

(53) *Bacchis*—*bakshi*, paymaster general or Chief of the Staff: "muster-master of the horsemen" (Valentijn). The Buxey at Fort William was the officer through whom payments were made.

(54) "Deka, la dernière ville de Bengale, sur le bord de la mer" (Bernier).

(55) The Megna, a branch of the Brahmaputra. Islam Khan transferred the seat of Government in Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca in 1608. Dacca is situated on the Buriganga which flows into the Megna.

(56) *Chandara*—*Samdhara*, on the north bank of the Brahmaputra at the mouth of the Bharali river in the Darrang district, opposite Koliabar. The battle took place on February 25, 1662, at Simlagarh on the south bank (see note 25): whereupon the garrison of Samdhara fled without being attacked.

and whilst he studied how to surprize him, the Season of Rains came; during which, the whole Countrey is overflowed, excepting the Villages, which stand upon Hills, This Season, which lasted three months, hindered the Emir's designs, the Waters keeping him from marching either backwards or forwards. Moreover, the Raja had carried away all kinds of Provision, and reduced by this means the Emir into a strange extremity. This Weather, and the incommodiousness of the place, having near ruined his whole Army. He thought of nothing, then, but how to get away, and in his [182] retreat, was ever and anon, set upon by his Enemies, who taking their advantage, enclosed whole Troops, in plains full of Mire, and slew them. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the Emir returned home in Triumph, laden with glory and spoils. His design was to return, and finish in the following year, the Conquest of this Kingdom, which the Castle of Azo (which they had caused to be well fortified) retained, as it were, in a Bridle, and which was able to hold out a long time against the Forces of the Raja. But no sooner was he returned to Bengala, but a Dysentery destroyed the rest of his Army, and himself also. And by this means Auren-Zeb had nothing to fear; who, as great a dissembler as he was, could not forbear expressing his joy thereat. He told one day, the Son of the Deceased, in the presence of his whole Court, that he had lost a Father, and he [183] for his part, a most dreadful friend (57).

Having been fifteen Months in the great Mogol's Army, our Consul obtained at length our discharge; whereupon we parted without attendants, for all our Servants were dead. We came in fifteen days to Decka, where we saw the Vessel our two Carpenters had built for the General. It carried 30 Guns, and they had order to begin another, far larger. From thence we betook our selves to a House of Entertainment for Strangers, where we were well accommodated with all things necessary; from whence we soon took Shipping for Ongueli. Having Sailed about 120 Leagues, along the River, we made some stay at Cazimabazar, a place Famous for Silks (58). From thence we went to Ongueli, where the Dutch that Trade to the Indies, have a considerable Factory. Each of us betook himself to different Employes, and mine obliged me so strictly in [184] that Company's Service, that I could not conveniently return to my Native Country, till the year 1673. FINIS.

(57) Aurungzebe, says Bernier, confirmed Muhammad Amir Khan in his office of *Bakchis*, increased his allowance by one thousand rupees a month, and made him sole heir to his father's property.

(58) Cossimbazar on the east bank of the Bhagirathi, about a mile north of Berhampore. Cf. Tavernier (1767): "Kassembazar, a village in the Kingdom of Bengale, sends abroad every year two and twenty thousand Bales of Silk: every Bale weighing a hunder'd pound": and Bernier: "The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Kassem-bazar, where, in like manner, the English and other merchants employ a proportionate number." The English established a factory at "Castle Bazar" in 1658, Job Charnock being fourth of Council on a yearly salary of £20, and later (from 1680 to 1686) Chief. Out of £230,000 sent out by the East India Company in 1681 for investment in Bengal, £140,000 was assigned to Cossimbazar. The Dutch factory was at Calcapore, but nothing remains of it except the cemetery, which contains 47 monuments. The French factory was at Saidabad, to the west of the Dutch. It is mentioned by Streynsham Master, who visited Bengal in 1676. The site is now occupied by the pumping station of the Berhampore water works, and is still known as Farasdanga, "the plot of ground allotted to the French."

APPENDIX.

BERNIER'S ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION.

The following account of Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam is taken from the English translation of Bernier's "Particular Events/ or the/ most Considerable/ Passages/ After the War of Five years or/ thereabout, in the Empire of the Great Mogol," published in 1671 ("London, printed for Moses Pit at the White Hart in Little Britain"):

"Aurengzebe too well knowing that a great Captain cannot be long at rest, and that if he be not employed in a Foreign War, he will at length raise a Domestick one: proposed to Jemla to make War upon that rich and potent Rajah of Acham, whose territories are on the north of Dake, upon the Gulf of Bengala. The Emir, who in all appearance had already designed the same thing for himself, and who believed, that the Conquest of this Countrey would make way for his Immortal Honour, and be an occasion of carrying his Arms as far as China, declared himself ready for this Enterprise. He embark'd at Dake with a puissant army upon a River which comes from those parts: upon which having gone about a hundred leagues North Eastward, he arrived at a Castle called Azo, which the Rajah of Acham had usurped from the kingdom of Bengala, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place and took it by force in less than fifteen daies: thence marching overland towards Chamdara, which is the Inlet into the Countrey of that Rajah he enter'd into it after 26 daies' journey, still Northward: There a Battel was fought, in which the Rajah of Acham was worsted, and oblig'd to retreat to Guerguon, the Metropolis of his Kingdom, four miles distant from Chamdara. The Emir pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to fortifie himself in Guerguon: For he arrived in sight of that Town in five daies, which constrained the Rajah, seeing the Emir's Army, to fly towards the Mountains of the Kingdom of Lassa, and to abandon Guerguon, which was pillaged as had been Chamdara. They found them vast Riches, it being a great, very fair, and Merchant-like town, and where the Women are extraordinarily beautiful.

"Meantime, the season of the Rains came in sooner than usually: and they being excessive in some parts and overflowing all the Countrey, except such Villages as stand on raised ground, the Emir was much embarrass'd. For the Rajah made his people of the Mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the provisions of the Field, whereby the Emir's Army (as rich as 'twas) before the end of the Rains, fell into great streights, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance by reason of the Mountains very difficult to pass, and continually pester'd with great Rains; nor retreat

because of the late Rains and deep ways; the Rajah having also caused the way to be digg'd up as far as Chamdara : So that the Emir was forc'd to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the Rain; after which he found his Army distasted, tir'd out and half starv'd, he was necessitated to give over the design he had of advancing, and to return the same way he was come. But this Retreat was made with so much pains, and so great inconveniences, by reason of the Dirt, the want of Victuals, and the pursuit of the Rajah falling on the Rear, that every body (but he) that had not known how to remedy the disaster of such a March; nor had the Patience to be some times five or six hours at one passage to make the Souldiery get over it without confusion, would have utterly perish'd, Army, and all : yet he, notwithstanding made a shift to come back with great Honour and vast Riches."

"He design'd to return thither the next year, and to pursue his undertaking, supposing that Azo, which he had fortified and where he left a strong Garrison, would be able to hold out the rest of the year against the Rajah. But he no sooner arrived there but Dysentry began to rage in his Army. Neither had he a body of steel more than the rest : he fell sick and died, whereby fortune ended the just apprehensions of Aurengzebe. I say the just apprehensions for there was none of those that knew this great man, and the state of affairs of Indostan, who did not say : ' 'Tis this day that Aurengzebe is king of Bengala.' "

The Silk Industry in Bengal in the days of John Company.*

SILK and muslin fabrics were the two outstanding features of Bengal's past civilisation and trade. At a time when several modern civilized races were living in a state of barbarism or using the barks of trees as their apparel, Bengal was producing these valuable stuffs and was sending them to the well-known silk-marts of Dacca, Sonargaon and Saptagram for the use of her princes and noblemen. The fame of these silk fabrics was not at all confined to the shores of India, but had also spread under the name of *Gangetika* to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Ever since that period these articles steadily maintained their reputation and we have the testimony of Lambourn (1), to the effect "that nearly 23 years before the advent of the East India Company in India, i.e., about 1577, a merchant of Malda, Sheik Bhik, set sail for Russia with three ships laden with silk cloth and that two of his ships were wrecked somewhere near the Persian Gulf".

13702.

There seems to be no doubt (2) that Bengal is indebted to China for this art and that China is the country where the culture of the silkworm was first undertaken and the product of the insect used as a material for textiles. The name 'Seres' (3) ('the people who furnish silk') by which appellation China was known to the ancients clearly proves the truth of the above assertion. The term 'Seres' comes from the Chinese word 'Si or Sze' meaning 'silk', whence were derived the Greek word 'Ser', the Latin 'Sericum', the French 'Soie', the German 'Seide' and the English 'Silk'. According to a Chinese work called the *Silkworm Classic*, a queen by the name of Si-ling-chi first encouraged the silk industry in China in all its aspects about 2600 B. C. (4). A series of Imperial Edicts testifies to the highly useful nature of this ancient Chinese art which was 'best fitted to promote the morality of the people and extinguish pauperism in the empire'. That China became opulent from the manufacture of this article will be evident from the fact (5) that "till the 6th century it continued to draw considerable sums from

* A Paper read at the Seventh Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Poona on January 13, 1925.

(1) *Malda District Gazetteer*, 1918, p. 59.

(2) *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911 (Handy Vol. Issue), Vol. 25, p. 97.

(3) *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911 (Handy Vol. Issue). Vol. 25, pp. 96-7; *Cyclopædia of India*. Vol. V, by E. Balfour 1873, pp. 330-1; *Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information*, by B. Vincent, 1910, pp. 1257-8.

(4) *Ibid.* *Dictionary of Universal Knowledge*, by W. and R. Chambers, Vol. VIII, 1877, p. 724.

(5) *Commercial Dictionary*, by J. R. McCulloch, 1869, p. 1277.

the Roman Empire in return for silk, a given weight of silk being then sold for an equal weight of gold " (6). In spite of the vigilant guarding of the secrets of this art by the Chinese it gradually filtered down to adjacent countries, such as Corea and Japan and ultimately reached India; and subsequently extended further west to Khotan, Persia, the States of Central Asia and lastly to Europe.

It is evident from old literature on the subject that the knowledge of the manufacture of silk reached India about 300 A.D. (7) overland from the Celestial Empire and was first established in the valley of the Brahmaputra and in the tract lying between that river and the Ganges. The fact that the Chinese carried the art of sericulture to the highest degree of perfection will be clear from the records of the Imperial Record Department, from which we find that even towards the end of the 18th century when silk-culture in Europe was being carried on by scientific processes, the East India Company did not hesitate to indent (8) from China the improved quality of silkworm eggs and mulberry-plants, to requisition (9) the services of Chinese silk-experts, and lastly to seek advice (10) from that country "as to the best method of cultivating white silkworms." Mr. J. Frushard, Commercial Resident of the Company's Ganutia Factory, frankly admits the excellence of Chinese sericulture in his letter (11) to Lieut. Col. R. Kyd dated the 15th January 1793, by saying that "the China silk-worm is superior to the Bengal one". Lieut.-Col. R. Kyd, Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, in his letter to the Board dated Calcutta, the 18th January, 1793, also advocated (12) the idea of utilising the British Embassy to the Court of China in 1793 for the "benefit of the silk-manufacture in Bengal". We further find from the records (13) that in the 18th century the province of Kiangnan was famous in China for the cultivation of the mulberry.

Accordingly to Sir George Watt, late Reporter on Economic Products, the 'mulberry-worms of Bengal' of which we read in ancient Sanskrit books, owe their origin to China and cannot be strictly called "national" or "indigenous." The Muhammadan writers are also reticent on the "local mulberry cultivation of Bengal." These facts strongly lend colour to the view that 'indigenous silk-growing and mulberry cultivation' were not an important industry in Bengal until it came into contact with the English.

The Company's connection with Bengal silk (*Bangala's silke*, in the records,) as appears from the Factory-papers (14), commences as early as 1618. Francis Fettiplace and Robert Hughes—two well-known servants of the Company—

(6) *Ibid.* Dictionary of Dates, etc., by B. Vincent, p. 1258.

(7) *Ency. Brit.*, 1911 (Handy Vol. Issue), Vol. 25, p. 97.

(8) Pub. O. C.'s 18th June, 1771, No. 4; 21st June, 1773, No. 1(a); 27th August, 1788, No. 15; 30th April, 1790, No. 9, etc.

(9) Pub. O. C. 16th February, 1791, No. 26.

(10) Pub. O. C. 30th January, 1788, No. 17.

(11) Pub. O. C. 16th February, 1791, No. 26.

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) Pub. O. C. 29th March, 1793, No. 1.

(14) *English Factory Records*, 1618—21, Introduction, p. x.

were then engaged in the Agra Factory in procuring this stuff for despatch to England. Murshidabad was at that time the chief centre of Bengal silk as it used to supply this article to the Company. The following tribute which the Factory records (15) pay to the city of Murshidabad will be found interesting:—"Silk could be provided in infinite quantities at least 20 per cent. cheaper than in any other place of India and is of the choicest stuff; where are also innumerable silk-winders, expert workmen and labour cheaper by a third than elsewhere." Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador to the Court of Jehangir, also speaks about the cheapness of Murshidabad silk in his letter (16) to the Company dated the 1st December 1616 where he "discusses about the advisability of opening a trade in Bengal silk." In order to buy silk from Murshidabad at a cheaper rate, the Company attempted to establish a factory at Patna (17) about 1620 but it was destroyed by fire in March, 1621 (18). The Patna factors had consequently to return to their old Agra Factory. About the year 1650 it was found that for several years past Bengal silk was being regularly imported (19) to England by private English traders and on the 16th of September of that year a "Meeting of the Divers Committees" decided (20) that private traders should be prohibited from importing silk to England on penalty of forfeiture to the Company of their entire stock.

Attracted by the fame of Murshidabad silk, the East India Company started a Silk Factory at Cossimbazar, a few miles from Murshidabad, about the year 1658 (21). From that date down to the middle of the 18th century this Factory played a conspicuous part in the annals of the Company's raw silk trade in Bengal. The archives of the Imperial Record Department teem with papers, ranging from 1700 to 1780 on this subject. At first the silk operations of this Factory were conducted on a small scale—only 59,000 rupees (22) being invested in the first year. In its second year i.e. in 1659(23), owing to the civil war in Bengal and the ill-will displayed towards the Company by Mir Jumla, the celebrated General of the Emperor Aurangzeb, their silk-trading operations in Bengal were carried on under the greatest disadvantage. A letter (24) from Mr. John Ken, chief of the Cossimbazar Factory, dated 26th March, 1659, gives us a clear idea of the price of Cossimbazar raw silk of that year. From his letter we find that "long *taffetas* were costing from 4 rupees 8 annas to 4 rupees 12 annas each, and short ones 17 to 18 rupees a score; silk ready wound, was about 3 rupees 12 annas per seer." In spite,

(15) *Ibid.* Introduction, page XXIII and pp. 229-30.

(16) *Letters received by the E. I. Co. from its servants in the East*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

(17) *English Factory Records*, 1618—21, Introduction, p. xxiii.

(18) *English Factory Records*, 1618—21, Introduction, p. xxiv.

(19) *Court Minutes of E. I. Co.*, 1650-4, 51, 138, 142, 188, 199, 211.

(20) *Ibid.* p. 59.

(21) *Hobson-Jobson*, Ed. W. Crooke, 1903, p. 263; *Murshidabad District Gazetteer*, 1914. p. 126; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, by W. W. Hunter, 1886, p. 369.

(22) *English Factory Records*, 1655-60, p. 275 (footnote.)

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 275, para 1.

(24) *English Factory Records*, 1655-60, 60, p. 275 (footnote.)

however, of many disadvantages, the Cossimbazar Factory continued to thrive (25) with the aid of European capital and organization. J. B. Tavernier (26) writing in 1676 speaks about Cossimbazar thus:—"Kassembasar a village in the Kingdom of *Bengala*, sends abroad every year two and twenty thousand bales of silk; every bale weighing a hunder'd pound." According to O'Malley, "out of £230,000 sent out by the E. I. Co. in 1681 as 'investment' (advance) to Bengal, £140,000 was assigned to Cossimbazar alone." Letters from the Cossimbazar Factors to the Board, dated the 8th and 13th December 1759, tell us that they wanted to be supplied with at least 2 *lakhs* of rupees for the sole purpose of purchasing "November-bund" (27) raw silk. Four years later *i.e.* in 1763, we find the same Factory demanding 9 *lakhs* of rupees as advances for the purchase of silk. In 1779, Col. Rennell (28) wrote about Cossimbazar Factory thus:—"Cossimbazar is the general market of Bengal silk, and a great quantity of silk are (sic) manufactured here, which are (sic) circulated throughout great part (sic) of Asia; of the un-wrought silk, 300,000 or 400,000 lbs. weight is consumed in the European manufactories." The above facts show the rapid growth of the Cossimbazar Factory since its birth in 1658. We find, however, that in the year 1787 (29), Lord Cornwallis recommended "that the status of the Cossimbazar Factory should be reduced from a Chiefship to a Residency." Twenty-eight years after the establishment of the Cossimbazar Factory, the Company opened another important silk agency at Malda and practically from the beginning of the 18th century, the Company made strenuous efforts to foster the production of raw silk in Bengal. Gradually the cultivation of the mulberry plants extended to all the important districts of Bengal and silk-factories were started in various parts of Bengal, notably at Kumarkhali, Sonamukhi, Radhanagar, Ghatal, Rampur Boaleah, Surpur, Ganutia, Jangipur, Sarda and Lakshmipur. We find from the Minute (30) of Mr. John Shore, Acting President, dated the 8th November 1784, that Mr. Close brought forward before him a proposal for establishing a silk manufactory at Rangamati.

The quality of Bengal silk gradually improved under the fostering care of the English and when in the year 1714 the Company sent an Embassy (31) to the Mughal Emperor Farruksiyyar under John Surman, they selected this article as one of the presents to the Great Mughal. But it appears from the

(25) *Murshidabad District Gazetteer*, p. 126.

(26) Tavernier, II. 126 (Ball's edition, II, 2); *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 263.

(27) The term bund occurs frequently in the records. It locally meant 'season.' There are three *bunds* or seasons for spinning the cocoons. The November *bund* commences from 1st October to the end of February; the March *bund*, from 1st March to 30th June; the July (or *barsat*) *bund* from 1st July to 30th September. (*Murshidabad District Gazetteer*, p. 130).

(28) *Murshidabad District Gazetteer*, p. 127.

(29) Pub. O. C., 23rd February, 1787, No. 2.

(30) *Bengal MS. Records*, by W. W. Hunter, Vol. I, p. 105.

(31) *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, by Wilson, Vol. II, part II, Introduction, ix xiv, and xx.

records that in the year 1715 their silk business at Cossimbazar received a check (32) at the hands of the then Nawab of Bengal. Though the Emperor Farruksiyar granted permission to the English to carry on their silk trade unmolested, the Board learnt from Mr. Samuel Feake of the Cossimbazar factory in September, 1715 (33), that the Nawab Murshid Quli Khan (otherwise known as Jafar Khan) was putting serious obstacles in the way of the Company's silk-trade in Bengal "by putting peons on the silk merchants." At a meeting (34) held on the 3rd October of the same year the Board decided that "unless the peons which had been put on the Company's silk merchants at Cossimbazar be not taken away and they are allowed to go on with their business freely, the Board shall be obliged to seek their own remedy." The matter did not proceed further, for in the month of November (35) of that year the Nawab allowed the Company's silk business to go on unmolested.

The Mahratta invasion (36) of Bengal during the latter half of the reign of Ali Verdi Khan (1748-56) proved a serious menace to the Company's raw silk industry in Bengal. The quality of the Bengal raw silk degenerated and its price rose to an abnormal pitch. We find from the records of 1751 that "the dearness of raw silk and silk piece-goods for some years past is owing to the Morattoes constantly entering Bengal, plundering and burning the people's houses and destroying the chief *Aurangs* (depôts for manufactured goods) from whence the workmen have fled to distant parts." Another factor which contributed to the rise in the price of Bengal raw silk about this time was, according to the language of the records (37), "the extraordinary inclemency of the rainy seasons." The following interesting extract (38) from the letter of Warren Hastings to the Chief and Council of Cossimbazar, dated, Powa (sic) the 19th December 1755, throws a flood of light on this point and also on the topography of Eastern Bengal at that period:—"The country on this (eastern) side of the river Pudma is in general very low and marshy, specially those places which are situated at the greatest distance from the river, so that any extraordinary inclemency of the rainy seasons is much more sensibly felt here than any other places. The excessive quantity of rain which fell three years ago, besides the universal damage it occasioned, entirely overwhelmed a large tract of land about 11 or 12 Coses to the eastward of this place and dispersed or destroyed the greatest part of the inhabitants whose livelihood depended entirely on the *building of the silkworms* by which means the quantity of silk is greatly diminished from that produced before this unhappy event, to which I may add the difference between the land-tax now and five

(32) *Ibid.* Vol. II, part I, Introduction xlv; see also *General Letter from the Court of Directors to the Board*, dated London, 8th January, 1718.

(33) *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, by Wilson, Vol. II, Part I, p. 228; Introduction, xlv.

(34) *Early Annals*, etc., Vol. II, Part I, p. 228.

(35) *Ibid.*, p. 233.

(36) General letter from the Board to the Court of Directors dated Fort William, 10th August, 1749; *Long's Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I, p. 27.

(37) *Pub. progs.* Vol. 1755, p. 565.

(38) *Ibid.*, pp. 565-6.

years ago, in which interval it has been annually increasing and is now more than double the amount of the revenues collected formerly." There were loud complaints (39) amongst the silk buyers and weavers of England against Bengal silk and silk riots (40) actually occurred in Spitafields to protest against its introduction in England. It was not, however, till the Company obtained possession of Bengal that systematic efforts were made to improve the quality of Bengal raw silk. At the instance of the silk weavers of England, the Court of Directors deputed Mr. Richard Wilder (41) in 1757 to Cossimbazar on the ship *Elizabeth* to investigate the causes of the defective quality of Bengal raw silk. It appears from the papers (42) that Mr. Wilder remained in Bengal for nearly four years, during which period he did useful service to the raw silk industry of Bengal by "inventing (43) a machine for winding silk," teaching (44) the art of silk-reeling to the villagers inhabiting the eastern side of the river Pudma and visiting (45) the different silk-factories of the Company. His letter (46) to the Board dated Calcutta, the 14th July 1760, contains several useful suggestions on the "reeling, knotting and winding" of raw silk and gives a vivid account of the state of Bengal raw silk at that period. His silk-winding machine was found highly useful (47) by the Cossimbazar Factors and considerably remedied their defective silk-winding.

The servants of the East India Company in Bengal were no less anxious than their masters at home to improve the quality of Bengal raw silk. On the 10th November, 1763, Mr. Joseph Pouchon (48) offered his services to the Board "to improve the growth of Bengal silkworm and thereby to increase the quantity of raw silk"—an offer which was readily accepted. His letter (49) which throws light on the consumption of Bengal raw silk in England in the first half of the 18th century, is given for ready reference in Appendix A at the end of the paper. In 1767 Mr. H. Verelst, Governor of Bengal, took a keen interest in the improvement of the Company's silk, "personally urging the *Zamindars* gathered at Murshidabad for the ceremony of *Puniya* (50) to

(39) Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I, p. 84 (footnote).

(40) *Malda District Gazetteer*, p. 63.

(41) General letter from the Court of Directors to the Board dated London, 25th March, 1757, paras 140 and 146; Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I, p. 84.

(42) Pub. progs. Vol. 1760, p. 538.

(43) Pub. progs. Vol. 1759, pp. 27-9.

(44) General letter from the Board to the Court of Directors, dated 29th December, 1759.

(45) Pub. progs. Vol. 1760, p. 538.

(46) Pub. progs. Vol. 1760, pp. 474-87.

(47) General Letter from the Board to the Court of Directors, dated 29th December, 1759.

(48) Pub. progs., Vol. 1763, pp. 1342-3; Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, 1748-67, Vol. I, p. 337.

(49) Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I, p. 337.

(50) In the lower provinces of Bengal, *Puniya* is the day on which the revenue for the ensuing year is settled; or an annual meeting of the cultivating tenants at the Court of the *Zamindor* to determine the amount of assessment; the assemblage of the rent-payers forming a kind of festival or holiday. (H. H. Wilson.)

give all possible encouragements to the cultivation of mulberry." Mr. F. Sykes (51), Resident at Murshidabad, also in 1767 did useful service by advocating the Company's investment in the raw silk of Bengal. In 1769 some Italian silk-reelers (52) were imported into Bengal, and it appears from the "Proceedings of the Committee of Commerce," dated the 5th March 1772 (53) that the Company did their utmost "to introduce the Italian mode of reeling amongst the native silk-reelers"—a step which was productive of great improvement in the quality of this article. Consultation of the Board of Trade dated the 30th January 1776, shows that Mr. G. Williamson, Superintendent of Silk Investment, Calcutta, made silk-culture his special study and wrote in the year 1775 a treatise in which he, among other things, described the proper places for the rearing of silk-worms, soil for mulberry plants, method of hatching eggs and of feeding the silk-worms, their sickness and treatment, formation of silk pods and the mode of sorting them and finally, of reeling silk.

Though the above facts conclusively show the efforts both of the Court of Directors at home and their servants in Bengal to improve the quality of Bengal raw silk, unforeseen causes (54) arose at this juncture which greatly thwarted their endeavours. These were (1) the method of carrying out the Company's silk investment by their own agents or *gumashtas* (2) the Great Famine of 1769-70, "which swept away one-third of the entire population which subsisted by the cultivation of silk," (3) the "Agreement made with the cultivators to allow them the same price for the cocoons as these would yield if converted into "putney," and (4) the "competition between the Superintendents at Kumarkhali and Boaleah Factories and the different *gumashtas* employed by them and the Factory." The steps which the Board proposed in their Meeting held at Cossimbazar on the 25th August, 1772, to remove these causes are clearly described in the records (55). The first cause, which is of some historical interest requires a short explanation. Up to 1753 (56) the Company procured Bengal silk through Indian merchants—the most prominent of whom was Omi Chand. As their honesty was doubted, the Company resolved thenceforth to secure silk direct from the weavers by means of their agents or *gumashtas*. These *gumashtas* "under the sanction of the Company's name" and "under the pretence of securing an investment for the Company" began to practise the "most unbounded tyranny and extortion on all manufacturers and weavers of silk" for their own selfish ends. Their oppression over the poor silk *ryots* form a series of woeful tales. For a detailed account the student may be referred to the records (57) of the

(51) Select Committee Press List: Vol. 1756-74, p. 89. (Letter from F. Sykes to the Board, dated Motijhil, 6th Morch, 1767.)

(52) Pub. O. C., 13th November, 1770, No. 4(b).

(53) Pub. O. C., 25th May, 1772, No. 1(b).

(54) I. O. Progs., Vol. (Home), 1772-3, pp. 27-33.

(55) *Ibid.*

(56) *Early Records of British India* by J. T. Wheeler, p. 225; *A Short History of Calcutta*, by A. K. Ray 1902, p. 118. (Census Vol.).

(57) Pub. O. C., 19th June, 1769, Nos. 1, 1(1) and 1(2); Pub. O. C. 24th May, 1773, No. 6.

Imperial Record Department, and to a paper entitled *Considerations on India affairs*, (London, 1772, pp. 191-94). The effect of the *gumashta* system was "that the silk trade and the revenues of the Company in Bengal were greatly reduced." Mr. Verelst in his letter to the Board, dated Nashedbag (sic), the 5th June 1796, says (58):—"these (*gumashta*'s) oppressions have reduced the trade of hitherto rich and populous districts of Bengal to the lowest ebb." He further adds in the same letter: "the quantity of Cossimbazar raw silk from 1750 to 1757 was as high as 23,000 maunds yearly and never lower than 12,000. From that period it has made a sensible decrease and since our possessing the *Dewany*, it has rather fallen short of 7,000 maunds." Mr. R. Becher's letters to the Board from Motijhil, dated the 30th January, the 14th February and 7th May, 1769, also make the following significant revelations in connection with the decline of silk due to *gumashta* oppression: "There is not now half the silk produced in Cossimbazar and other places in Bengal that there was twenty years ago and if the present oppressive *gumashta* system continues it will decrease annually." Again we find: "I well remember Bengal when trade was free and the flourishing state it was then in. With concern I now see its present ruinous condition, which I am convinced is greatly owing to the monopoly that has of late years been made in the Company's name of almost all the manufactures in the country." For the "welfare of the Company's silk trade in Bengal," Mr. Verelst suggested certain regulations (59) in his letter to Mr. W. Aldersey, Chief of Cossimbazar, dated the 18th May, 1769, which are given at the end of this paper. In spite, however, of the aforesaid four disadvantages and thanks to British energy, the production of raw silk in Bengal showed so marked a success that "there came a boom in the Bengal silk-trade between 1760 and 1790"—a view which has been endorsed by Mr. Geoghegan in his work, *Silk in India* (p. 5). As the supply of Bengal raw silk to Europe fluctuated greatly between 1793 and 1835, a table showing the fluctuations (Appendix C), given at the end of the paper, will, perhaps, be found interesting.

Though from the records of 1769 we find that the Company did its best to encourage the production of raw silk in Bengal and to further its trade, we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that the Court of Directors in England did not show any favour to the manufacture of silk fabrics in Bengal. Their obvious object was to please the silk dealers of England. In their General Letter to the Board, dated the 17th March, 1769, the Court of Directors "desired that the manufacture of 'raw silk' should be encouraged in Bengal and that of 'silk fabrics' be discouraged" (60). They also "recommended that the silk winders should be forced to work in the Company's Factories and prohibited from working in their own homes under severe

(58) Pub. O. C., 19th June, 1769, No. (.)

(59) These are set out in Appendix B.

(60) In this connection the research student is referred to a very rare book entitled *Reasons humbly offered for the passing of a Bill for hindering the Home Consumption of East-Indies Silks, Bengals, etc.*, printed by F. Bradford in New Street, London, 1697.

penalties by the authority of the Government." This mandate had its desired effect. The manufacture of silk piece-goods declined in Bengal and the people who had exported these stuffs to the markets of Europe and Asia in previous centuries began to import them in increasing quantities.

We find from the papers of the year 1780 that the price of Bengal silk rose (61) "owing to an increased demand and the Italian mode of winding"—a system about which the Dutch put in their complaint; they were however informed that under the circumstances their complaint could not be remedied. In 1783 (62) the Company threw open the silk trade to private individuals, a step which was highly resented by the Board of Trade. An interesting point in connection with the Bengal silk trade about this period comes to light from the Public Department and the Duncan records (63) of 1783-4. We find from these papers that at this period a band of merchants, who styled themselves *Sannyasis* (religious Hindu mendicants), began to trade in raw silk and silk goods from Bengal to the Deccan. They were remarkable for their wealth and for their integrity in all commercial transactions. Those who resided at Benares and in the Company's dominions purchased the goods in Bengal and transported them to Mirzapore where they sold or delivered them to merchants of their own sect who came annually there for this purpose from the Deccan. These records disclose their complaints to Jagatdev Sing, *Naib* of Raja Mahepat Narain, against the establishment of the 'Permit' or Custom House in the district of Benares and the consequent enhancement of silk duties and also embody the "Regulations for the management and collection of the customs on the import and export silk trade of the province of Benares." Gradually, the cultivation of the mulberry spread from Bengal to Bihar and it appears from the papers (64) that in 1788, Mr. J. Henderson (Senior), Surgeon of Gaya, made an attempt to "rear silk worms and the mulberry plant in Bihar"—an attempt which proved highly successful. In that province the manufacture of silk also made great progress under Mr. Burt (65) in the same year. About this time Mr. T. Law, (66) Collector of Gaya, tried to encourage this industry in his district and Lieut.-Col. R. Kyd, Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, actually introduced mulberry cultivation in the Botanical Gardens. We find from Col. Kyd's letter (67) to the Board, dated the 21st October, 1788:—"The trees and insects producing *mugga-dhuti* silk had been introduced in the Gardens." From a further

(61) Pub. O. C., 24th January, 1780, No. 1.

(62) Pub. O. C., 19th May, 1783, No. 10.

(63) Pub. Progs., Vol. 1787, pp. 5554-62. (Paper of requests, dated 7 Muharram, 1191, *Fasli*, or 3rd December, 1784); *Selections from the Duncan Records*, by A. Shakespear, Vol. II, 1873, pp. 16-19, 45-6 and 113-14.

(64) Pub. O. C., 30th May, 1788, No. 33.

(65) Press list of I. O., Vol. 1787-99, Vol. II, p. 45. (General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 5th November, 1789.)

(66) Pub. O. C., 25th June, 1788, No. 27.

(67) Pub. O. C., 29th October, 1788, No. 26.

letter to the Board dated the 28th November, 1788 we see that the "China silk-worm mulberry" was also being cultivated in the Botanical Gardens (68). Gradually the Botanical Gardens became a nursery for the supply of silk worms and mulberry plants, and Lieut.-Col. Kyd issued an advertisement (69) in 1788 to the effect that "persons rearing silk-worms would be furnished with China silk worm mulberry free of cost from the Botanical Gardens." It appears from the records of 1789 that the district of Rajshahi proved to be a very suitable place for the growth of silk-worms and the cultivation of mulberry plants. A letter (70) from Mr. M. Atkinson, Assistant Collector of Rajshahi, to Lieut.-Col. R. Kyd, dated Muradbag, the 7th February, 1789, says: "China silk worms have increased very fast in Rajshahi" and, asks that he may be supplied with some more mulberry plants from the Botanical Gardens. In 1791 (71) the Government of Fort St. George sent Mr. R. S. Corbett to Bengal to qualify himself in the manufacture of silk and four years later, *i.e.*, in 1795, Tipu Sultan is said to have introduced the culture of cocoons into Mysore where for many years it continued to flourish.

The Company continued its silk operations in Bengal until 1835 (72) when it gave up its commercial monopoly and thus the connection of the East India Company with Bengal silk came to an end. They could not however suddenly throw out of employment the people engaged in silk production, and hence their silk factories were not entirely disposed of till 1737. After this large European firms such as Watson and Company, James Lyall and Company, Louis Payen and Company, and the Bengal Silk Company came into the field. In this connection the report (73) of the Silk Committee on the 'wild silk of Bengal' dated Calcutta, the 12th March, 1838, will be found interesting. Later developments in the silk industry of Bengal are more or less of modern interest and are open to the research of students of current commercial activities.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

(68) Pub. O. C., 28th November, 1788, No. 3.

(69) *Ibid.*

(70) Pub. O. C., 13th February, 1789, No. 16.

(71) Pub. Progs., Vol. 1791, pp. 3836-7; Press list of I. O. documents, 1787-99, Vol. II, p. 66.

(72) According to Sir W. W. Hunter, up to 1833.

(73) *Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India*, Vol. VI, 1839, pp. 37-8.

APPENDIX A.

To

THE HON'BLE HENRY VANSITTART, ESQ.,

President and Governor and Council.

GENTLEMEN,

The consumption of silk being very considerable in England, and for to give you a more just idea of it, is that since these 36 years past that I have lived in London, the consumption was then but about 3,500 bales per annum and gradually it has increased till now to about 16,000 bales, and by the knowledge that I have of that branch of trade from its beginning to the end, and having examined since I have been in this part of the world that the air and soil are extremely good for Mulberry Trees, I am persuaded that with some proper alterations (by no means attended with any more expenses nor labor to the poor people in the countries where the silk grows than before) we can raise silk worms to some degree of perfection and make good cocoons, which is the principal article and by this means we may flatter ourselves to produce good silk to the great advantage of the Company, and in time it would save a great deal of money to England, and moreover increase greatly the revenues of this country. Therefore, Gentlemen, I take the liberty to present you this plan in offering you my humble services, not only in that but in anything else that you will think I am capable to do for the good of the Company.

I have the honour to be,
with great respect, gentlemen,
Your most obedient and most
humble servant,
(Sd.) JOSEPH POUCHON.

CALCUTTA.
10th November, 1763.

APPENDIX B.

Regulations for the welfare of the Silk Trade of the Company in Bengal.

1. No force whatever is to be used oblige the *Asamis* (74) to the disposal of their *putney* (75) to the Company or any individuals in their service; who for recovery of their just balances which may appear due to them are to make

(74) 'Purchasers.'

(75) Goods commissioned or manufactured to order.

application to the officers of the Government who will on such application grant to the claimant or his constituent such aid as the circumstance may require.

2. That all *putney* delivered in be received under the seal of the *pycar* (76) or *chassar* with a note enclosed specifying the proprietor's name and its weight; and not to be opened but in the presence of the proprietor or his constituent, weighman and at least three other persons. The weighman to be approved of by both the seller and the purchaser.

3. The *seer* to be established at 76 *sicca* weight and no more than one half *chittac* per *seer* to be taken either on public or private account for the turn of the scale.

4. As from the imposition in the weight heretofore received and which is now annulled the *pycars* have oppressed the *chassars* by an addition of 20 or 25 *sicca* weight on the country *seer* of 200 *sicca* weight, the officer of the Government is to be directed immediately to make known throughout the districts that it is from henceforward to be discontinued.

5. All monies advanced for *putney* either public or private to be in *Sunnaut* (77) rupees, or an equitable *batta* to be allowed on any other kind of rupees agreeable to the rate they may bear at common sale in the bazar the day such advances are made.

6. No goods whatever shall be imposed upon the *pycar* or *chassar* for advances for *putney*, under the penalty of a forfeiture to the Government of all goods so imposed upon them.

7. Any *pycar* or *chassar* who may deliver in *putney* shall if he thinks himself injured in the prizing of it have liberty to appeal for redress to the Chief at Cossimbazar, and provided that advances have been made for such *putney*, the same may be secured under seal until the price can be knally determined by the Chief; and for the more effectual redress of the proprietor he shall be allowed musters of the said *putney* and produce the same with an attestation of the price it bore in the bazar on the day it was prized; and it shall be deemed a sufficient cause for complaint should the *putney* of any *pycar* or *chassar* be prized at an underrate to what the said goods bear in the public market; calculating and deducting a reasonable allowance on any advance that may be made for the said goods on account of interest and risk during the time of advance, but this allowance is on no account to exceed the rate of 15 per cent. per annum on the real value of the said goods.

Addendum—For the more effectually ascertaining of which, the *pycar* or *chassar* should produce under the seal and signature of the Daroga of the market or acting officer of the district an attestation of the price such silk bore in the market on the day it was prized.

(76) An intermediate dealer or broker. *Pycars* are a chain of agents through whose hands the articles of merchandize pass from the loom of the manufacturer, or the store-house of the cultivator, to the public merchant or exporter. (*Hobson-Jobson*, by W. Crooke, 1903, p. 703.)

(77) The word is properly *Sanuat*, plural of Arabic *sana*(t), a year. *Sanuat* rupee was equivalent in value to the Furrukhabad rupee or the modern "Company's Rupees" (which was of the same standard). (*Hobson-Jobson*), p. 775.

8. The practice of obliging private purchasers to bring their goods to the factory under pretence of examination and attachment of the Company's assortments to be immediately discontinued; unless complaint is first made and that supported by at least two evidences that the same has been purchased with the Company's advances; but on no account else whatever. In such a case a district report with the depositions of the evidences should be transmitted to the Chief and the goods detained until his determination be known.

9. No servants whatever or their dependants are in future to receive any *nazaranas* or presents from the merchant, *pycar* or *chassar* on any pretence, under penalty of public dismissal from the service and other punishments according to the nature and extent of the offence.

10. No *sardars* or other employed for the winding of the silk to be sent out to seize the winders or necessitate them by compulsion to work; but in case of desertion the officer of the Government to be applied to for redress. For which purpose a list of all those at present employed in the Company's service specifying the places of their abode should be delivered him.

11. Complaints are made that the *sardar's* accounts with the winders have not been adjusted for a considerable time past, and that under pretences of one kind or another two-thirds of their daily pay are withheld from them. This can only be adjusted by an arbitration. After an examination of their accounts for this purpose I would recommend that the winders nominate one person, the *sardars* another and these two a third to ascertain the demands. A few hundred rupees may be given these persons as a reward for so laborious and intricate a work. It may likewise secure their integrity.

12. Complaints are also made that the Overseers beat and ill-treat the winders. As these poor people receive the reward of their labours in proportion to their work, the Overseers should not be allowed to exert their tyranny; but in case of idleness (which can easily be ascertained by the Overseers at the close of the day bringing the work and workmen to the Resident) they may if example is necessary be punished by his directions, but by no other order whatever.

13. As an encouragement to the winder it will be necessary that it should be made known to him what demand he has a right to make on his *sardar* for every *chittac* he winds off, which heretofore he has been at a loss to do from the many exactions of his *sardar* on account of *batta*, custom and *dusturies*. Of the 30 rupees per maund allowed by the Company 25 at least should go to the winder which will amply recompense him for his labours.

14. The *cutchery* established and maintained under the direction of the Resident is discontinued, and all such matters as were usually determined there are, in future, to be heard by the officer of the Government and if not properly redressed the Resident is to apply to the Chief of Cossimbazar,

APPENDIX C.

Table showing the fluctuations in the supply of Raw Silk from Bengal to Europe, 1793 to 1835.

Year.	Weight of silk supplied in lbs..	Year	Weight of silk supplied in lbs.
1793	... 677,988	1815	... 522,810
1794	... 494,487	1816	... 381,215
1795	... 379,543	1817	... 373,459
1796	... 340,060	1818	... 758,116
1797	... 88,219	1819	... 553,105
1798	... 352,780	1820	... 811,875
1799	... 643,803	1821	... 817,625
1800	... 454,600	1822	... 845,382
1801	... 310,368	1823	... 850,668
1802	... 78,950	1824	... 660,012
1803	... 336,189	1825	... 699,230
1804	... 415,917	1826	... 898,388
1805	... 460,303	1827	... 926,578
1806	... 235,215	1828	... 1,039,623
1807	... 225,984	1829	... 1,129,710
1808	... 325,243	1830	... 1,096,071
1809	... 116,124	1831	... 1,030,280
1810	... 373,598	1832	... 750,828
1811	... 258,953	1833	... 698,851
1812	... 558,862	1834	... 757,517
1813	... 831,891	1835	... 721,509
1814	... 722,727		

Tilly Kettle and his Portraits.

THE art-loving public of Calcutta owe a debt of gratitude to the Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court for the loan, which they have made for one year, of Tilly Kettle's portrait of Sir Elijah Impey to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall.

This interesting painting, of which we give a reproduction on the opposite page, has been placed on exhibition in the lower gallery opposite the Durbar Hall. It is, no doubt, the picture for which the "free merchants, free mariners, and other inhabitants of Calcutta" begged the Chief Justice to set in July 1775, and which was intended to be "set up in the town-hall or some other public room" (1). As a matter of fact, when it was restored by Mr. A. E. Harris in 1910, the removal of the grime by which it was obscured showed that it was painted by Tilly Kettle in 1775, the year of the Nuncomar trial and not, as we supposed, in 1778, Kettle was summoned to serve on the jury at the Nuncomar trial, and was challenged by the prisoner (2).

Tilly Kettle was born in London about 1740, and was the son of a house-painter in the City. He studied under his father, and afterwards in the Duke of Richmond's gallery of casts, and in the St. Martins Lane Academy. His first portrait was exhibited at the Free Society of Artists in 1761, and in the year following he repaired Streater's painting on the ceiling of the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford. In 1770 he came out to India being the first English artist to visit that country.

He must in the first instance have halted at Madras, for it is stated in Edwards' *Anecdotes of Painting* (1808) that a portrait by Kettle of Muhammad Ali Khan Walajah, Nawab of the Carnatic, with his five sons, was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1771. This was evidently the picture painted in 1770 and presented by the Nawab to George the Third in return for portraits of

(1) The text of the address and the reply is printed in an appendix.

(2) Sir Elijah Impey proceeded to Europe in 1783, but did not resign the office of Chief Justice until November 1787, and his successor Sir Robert Chambers did not take his seat until September 1791, when, it is said, a salute was fired from Fort William. An attempt was made to impeach him on his return, but it failed, and he entered the House of Commons in 1790 as member for New Romney retaining his seat until 1796. In 1801 he visited Paris after the peace of Amiens and was detained as a prisoner of war from May 1803 to June 1804. He died on October 1, 1809, in his seventy-seventh year. Macaulay's epigrammatic summary of his career that "the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous" is a travesty of the facts which were more correctly stated by Impey himself:

I have undergone great fatigue, compiled a laborious code (Regulation VI of 1781), restored confidence to the suitors and justice and regularity to the Courts of Justice, and settled the internal quiet of a great empire without any reward, and as my recompense shall have lost my office, reputation and peace of mind for ever.

The moral ruin of Impey, says Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, is due to a literary murder of which Macaulay probably thought little when he committed it.



SIR ELIJAH IMPEY.
FROM THE PICTURE BY TILLY KETTLE IN THE HIGH COURT.
(Photographed by Mr. F. Harrington.)

the King and Queen in their Coronation robes (3) which were sent out in the *Ponsborne* Indiaman in the spring of 1768 with the singular accompaniment of a live lion. Reference is made to Kettle's picture in an autograph letter from the King to the Nawab, which is dated March 19. 1771: but it is no longer in the Royal collection.

In 1772 Kettle exhibited a picture of nautch girls at the Society of Artists: but by that time he had made his way to Calcutta where he resided for seven years. We find John Cartier, Governor of Fort William (1769-1772), writing on his behalf in November, 1771, to Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, at Fyzabad, and to Munir-ud-daula, Naib Wazir, at Allahabad: "Having learnt that the addressee very much wishes to see Mr. Kettle, painter, the writer has ordered him to proceed to Fyzabad (and thence to Allahabad after he has taken leave of the Nawab Wazir), says that he is a master of his art and hopes the addressee will be much pleased with him." (Persian Corresp. vol. III, 1770-1772: Nos. 973-974.) That he painted the Nawab Wazir is evidenced by a colour print by P. Renault, which was published on May 12, 1796, and is stated to be taken from a picture by Kettle representing "Shuja-ud-daulah, Vizier of the Moghul Empire, Nabob of Oude, his son Asaf-ud-dowlah the reigning Nabob, and Nine of his Brothers" (4). Can this be the painting referred to by Joseph Farington when he records in his Diary on April 14, 1797, that "Mr. Hastings paid 1000 guineas to Kettle for a picture of a Nabob which was sold at Christie's on Monday for 7 guineas?" This must have been the occasion on which Hastings gave up his house in Park-Lane (5) and when he was much disappointed at the small prices realized for his eleven pictures by William Hodges R.A., of which one, a "View at Benares in 1781" was recovered for the India Office in October, 1904. Kettle certainly exhibited in London in 1775 a painting of "Sujah-ud-dowlah, Vizier of the Mogul Empire, with his four sons, meeting Sir Robert Barker, his two aides-de-camp, and interpreter at Fyzabad in order to conclude a treaty with the East India Company in 1772" (6). This was commissioned by Barker himself, and is now in the possession of his descendants at Bushbridge Park, near Godalming.

(3) These were painted by Allan Ramsay in 1761. They became the "ambassadorial type," and were repeated by Ramsay with the assistance of his pupil Philip Reinagle (R. A. 1812-1838) for foreign courts and representatives of the Sovereign abroad. Hence replicas may be found in the collection at Government House, Madras, and also at Viceregal Lodge Simla, where they were transferred in 1922 from Government House, Calcutta.

(4) Shuja-ud-daula died at Fyzabad on January 29, 1775, and was succeeded by Asaf-ud-daula, who occupied the gadi until 1798. Copies of the print may be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection and in the Revenue Committee Room at the India Office.

(5) The house has been pulled down, and its site occupied by an enormous block of flats at the corner of Park Lane and Oxford Street, facing the Marble Arch.

(6) Sir Robert Barker, who became provincial Commander-in-Chief in Bengal in 1770, concluded a treaty with the Rohillas against the Mahrattas at Fyzabad in May 1772. The non-fulfilment of the provisions of this treaty led to the first Rohilla War. Barker sat in the House of Commons until 1780 as member for Wallingford. He was created a baronet in 1781 and died at Bushbridge Park in 1789.

While at Calcutta Kettle painted a portrait of Colonel Archibald Campbell who was Chief Engineer in Bengal from 1768 to 1773 and subsequently Governor of Fort Saint George from 1786 to 1789. This picture was exhibited in 1773 at the Society of Artists, and is probably the same as the one now at Government House, Madras, which was purchased in February 1912 (7).

Another portrait painted about this period was that of Samuel Middleton the elder, who was elected Provincial Grand Master of Bengal Freemasons in 1767. On September 20, 1775, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Charles Stafford Playdell (8) announced to the members of Provincial Grand Lodge the death of Middleton, which had occurred at Pirpainti, near Bhagalpur (9); and it was resolved that his portrait should be hung in the room at the Old Court House in which the Lodge was held (10). On December 13 of the same year it was reported that the cost of the portrait was estimated by the artist Tilly Kettle at between Rs. 4000 and Rs. 5000. The price was considered to be unduly high, but it was resolved that it should be paid "without hesitation" (11). There can be little doubt, from the evidence afforded by these entries, that the picture was actually painted and hung in the Lodge-room: but it has, unhappily, disappeared: and the earliest portrait in the possession of District Grand Lodge is that of the Marquess of Hastings who was appointed Patron and Acting Grand Master for all India in 1813 (12).

(7) At the time of its acquisition it was suggested by the dealer from whom it was bought that it was the work of Kettle (Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*). For some account of Colonel Archibald Campbell, and his association with Colonel Henry Watson in his dockyard undertaking; see *Memoirs of William Hickey*, Vol. II, pp. 121-122 and 146-147.

(8) Charles Stafford Playdell came out to Bengal in 1744 and was second at Jugdea in 1755 at the time of Siraj-ud-daula's attack on Fort William, when he took refuge at Fulta. In January 1768 he applied for a passage to Europe in the *Earl of Elgin*, but was back in Calcutta in September 1771, when he became Superintendent of Police, Master in Chancery, and Member of the Board of Trade. He died in Calcutta on May 27, 1779, and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. His first wife, Elizabeth, whom he married on February 25, 1759, was a daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell.

(9) For some account of Samuel Middleton, see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 151: Vol. XXVIII, p. 204. His death is thus recorded (without date) in the Burial Registers of St. John's Church at the end of July under the year 1775: "Samuel Middleton, Esq., President of the Board of Trade, died on his way to Monghyr." His tomb was described by Mr. P. R. Scott of Pirpainti Indigo Factory in a letter published in *Bengal Past and Present* in 1909 (Vol. IV, p. 635): "There is a high monument on a hill here to the north of my bungalow. No inscription upon it, but it looks as if some saheb were buried there. It is about 20 feet high and all by itself. It is just possible it is the grave of Samuel Middleton, I am certain it is not a Mahomedan grave." Pirpainti is now a station on the E.I.R. loop line in the north-east of the Bhagalpur district.

(10) The Old Court House stood at the end of the Street which bears its name, on the site now occupied by St. Andrews Kirk. It was finally demolished in 1792. Some five or six years earlier the Craft removed to a building in Lall Bazar, just opposite the modern Police Office, and adjoining the famous Harmonic Tavern. From 1840 to 1908 Freemasons Hall was at 55, Bentinck Street, (Cossaitollah). The present "Jadoo Chur" is at 19, Park Street.

(11) W. K. Firminger: *History of Freemasonry in Bengal*: 1906: pp. 18, 20.

(12) This picture is a replica of the Kitcat which Lord Dalhousie found "thrust away over a door-way" at Government House, and which now hangs in the Viceroy's study at Delhi. The artist is unknown.



SIR ELIJAH IMPEY. ANOTHER PORTRAIT BY TILLY KETTLE.

(Engraved by Carlos as a frontispiece to Elijah Barwell Impey's

Another portrait of Sir Elijah Impey was painted by Kettle, besides the one which is now being exhibited at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It was engraved by Carlos for Elijah Barwell Impey's *Memoirs of his father* which were published in 1846: and although described by Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (4th Edition, page 105) as the portrait by Kettle in the Calcutta High Court, a glance at the reproduction on the opposite page will show that it is quite evidently another painting. No account is given of it in the *Memoirs of Impey*: and the present writer has not been able to discover its whereabouts. It is not in Calcutta: and the assumption seems to be warranted that it is in the possession of some member of the Impey family (13).

In 1776 Kettle sent to the Royal Academy "The Ceremony of a Gentoo Woman taking leave of her relations and distributing her jewels prior to ascending the funeral pile of her deceased husband," and returned to England in the following year.

The Royal Academy Exhibition of 1781 contained a picture by him (which is now at Bushbridge Park) of "The Great Mogul Shaw Allum receiving the third brigade of the East India Company's Army at Allahabad." His last Academy exhibit was in 1782, when he sent a full length portrait of Admiral Kempenfelt, which may be seen at Greenwich Hospital. There is also a portrait by him of Sir William Blackstone in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Another of his portraits was that of Dr. George Mason, Bishop of Sodor and Man (1729-1783) which was engraved by W. Dickinson in 1783. His career in London ended in disaster. With a view of attracting greater notice, he built himself a house in Old Bond Street, opposite Burlington Gardens. Shortly afterwards he became bankrupt and removed to Dublin. The last year in which he exhibited in London was 1784. He did not remain long in Ireland and resolved to return to India, making the journey overland, but fell ill on the way and died near Aleppo in the spring of 1786.

Kettle married the younger daughter of James Paine, the elder, who achieved some fame as an architect. She died in 1806: and Joseph Farington has the following entry with reference to her in his *Diary* under date of April 10 of that year:—

(13) The Chief Justice had five other sons besides Elijah Barwell (who was baptized at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on August 6, 1779); John (godson of Dunning, Lord Ashburton) who became an Admiral: Archibald Elijah, Barrister and Benchet of the Inner Temple, who died in 1831: Michael, a major in the King's army, who was killed in a duel at Quebec in 1801: Hastings, (who was baptized at St. John's Church on May 1, 1782) and Edward (godson of Lord Chancellor Thurlow). The two last named received writerships on the Bengal Establishment in 1801, the first from Dundas (Lord Melville) the President of the Board of Control, and the other from Colonel Sweny Toone, one of the Directors. Hastings Impey died in Calcutta on February 4, 1805: Edward Impey (who was born in 1785) was appointed in 1818 to act as Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal at Moorshedabad, but was suspended from office in the following year and proceeded to England, where he was dismissed from the service in 1822. His son, Col. Eugene Clutterbuck Impey, C.I.E., (1830-1904) was Military Secretary to Lord Lawrence when Viceroy in 1863-1864, and subsequently Resident in Nepal. Henry Impey, the son of Michael, entered the Bengal Army and distinguished himself in the war with Nepal in 1814-1816, under Sir David Ochterlony.

Mrs. Kettle left a son and a daughter, each of whom had about £5000.

The Son is in India from whence He sent his picture to His Sister by an Ensign of a regiment who affected to see His future wife in a picture She had sent to her Brother and contrived by means of delivering Her Brother's picture to establish an acquaintance with Her and soon to marry her.

The "Son in India" cannot be traced in the Bengal Directories for 1802-1804. Two illegitimate daughters were born to Kettle in Calcutta in 1773 and 1774 (14).

The Judges' portrait of Impey is not the only specimen of Kettle's art in Calcutta. An admirable portrait by him of Warren Hastings hangs in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where it forms part of the Home Bequest. Hastings is painted full length, seated in an arm chair and with arms folded. Yet another portrait by Kettle of Hastings as a young man, seated, and leaning his head on his arm, is justly celebrated. He appears to be about the age of forty which would correspond with the date of his arrival in Bengal as Governor in 1772. This picture was presented by the Governor General to his friend Richard Sullivan, and was purchased for the National Portrait Gallery at the Sullivan sale in June, 1859, when it was erroneously catalogued as the work of Romney. The mistake is a curious one, for it so happens that the portrait of Hastings in the Council Chamber at the India Office which was bequeathed to the Company by William Larkins in 1800, was actually painted by Romney for 140 guineas in July, 1795.

A second version of the Sullivan portrait must have been painted, for Miss M.E. Morckton Jones, who reproduces it by way of frontispiece to her monograph on "Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-74" (Oxford 1918), writes:

The well-known painting by T. B. Kettle (sic) in the National Portrait Gallery is probably a replica of this more complete portrait, which experts are inclined to attribute to the same artist. The characterisation is here, in my opinion, more delicate and the colouring truer to life, while there is greater finish in some details of the costume. The picture has passed in a direct line to the present owner (Mr. Cortlandt MacGregor) from his ancestor, John Stewart, Judge Advocate General in Bengal in 1773, who either purchased it or received it as a gift from Hastings (15).

It was engraved for the *European Magazine* in 1782, for there is a small vignette in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection which is so described and which bears in addition the following inscription: "Warren Hastings Esqr.

(14) For entries of the baptisms see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXV. pp. 135, 137.

(15) Hastings created the office of Judge Advocate General in 1772, and appointed John Stewart, who had arrived at Fort William on August 29, of that year. Stewart held the office from 1773 to 1777. He had previously acted as Secretary to the Council. Hastings writes to Lawrence Sullivan his confidant on the Court of Directors (and Clive's old antagonist) on November 11, 1772: "Stewart has possession of his place as Secretary and is of great relief to me."

Governor of Bengal. Published December 1, 1782, by I. Fielding, Paternoster Row, 1, Debrett, Piccadilly and I. Sewell, Cornhill. From an original painting by Kettle in the Possession of Mrs. Maitland". Presumably Mrs Maitland was the daughter of Stewart (16).

The portraits of Tilly Kettle, says Mr. James Greig (Farington Diary, Vol. II. p. 181) are strong and good enough to have been mistaken for the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds: but it so happens that their market value has always been, and still is, very low. Two portraits ascribed to Kettle were purchased about sixty years ago, along with a third picture, for less than a guinea (17). The third picture proved to be an unrecorded Romney and when subsequently offered at Christie's, unframed, dirty, and even torn, fetched 6500 guineas. On the same day a fine "Portrait of a Lady" by Kettle was knocked down for 205 guineas. Again when on May 20, 1921, a copy was offered at Christie's of the Asiatic Society's picture of Hastings by Kettle, it was bought in at six guineas. It was catalogued as the work of Joseph Wright A.R.A., of Derby (1734-1797): but was clearly a reduced copy of Kettle's picture, for on the stretcher was noted in pencil: "From Palmer who was an artist and Judge of India. Original in the Museum at Calcutta." Sir William Foster conjectures Palmer to have been Thomas Palmer (B. C. S. 1790-1799) who died in 1799, when Judge and Magistrate of Ramghur in Chota Nagpore.

A word or two may be added on the subject of portraits of Impey by other artists.

In the Chief Justice's Court in the High Court building there hangs a full-length portrait of Sir Elijah, with hand outstretched and arrayed in full judicial robes. The name of the artist, as printed upon the descriptive label, is "Zoffany, 1782": but, as Dr. Busteed pointed out many years ago, the date is clearly wrong and should be corrected. If it be the case that the picture was painted by that artist, it must have been one of his earliest works in Calcutta.

(16) The second portrait of Warren Hastings in Miss Monckton Jones' book represents him in his old age and is a facsimile of the famous painting by Lemuel Abbott which was through the exertions of Lord Curzon transferred from the National Gallery to the Victoria Memorial Hall: but here again mention is made of a replica. The original, it is stated, "is the property of Mrs. Wansbrough, and has been continuously in the hands of Mrs. Woodman, the sister of Hastings, and her descendants." By a curious coincidence, another oil painting of Hastings hangs in the Victoria Memorial Hall by the side of Abbott's portrait: and the features of resemblance are so many and so close as to suggest the existence of yet another replica. This painting, however, is ascribed to Hoppner by the donor. Kumar Birendra Chandra Sinha of Paikpara, who purchased it in 1909 from Messrs. Arthur Tooth and Sons as the work of that artist. The date of painting is given as 1806, or four years before the death of Hoppner. Hastings died in 1818, at the age of eighty-six, and the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the National Gallery was painted in 1811.

(17) Sir Joshua Reynolds painted a portrait of Major General Stringer Lawrence for his intimate friend and ultimate heir, Sir Robert Palk, who was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1763 to 1767 (having been a chaplain at the Presidency in 1755-1756). This was sold at Christie's in May 1893, for ten guineas, not being recognised as a Reynolds, and is now in the collection of Mr. Wanamaker of Philadelphia (Foster: Catalogue of Pictures at the India Office: fifth Edition, p. 70).

Sir William Foster has ascertained from the Court Minutes that on November 27, 1782, Zoffany was given permission to proceed to India, "but not in any of the Company's ships." Presumably, the prohibition was against his going as a passenger: for Zoffany evaded it by signing on as a midshipman in the *Lord Macartney*, an Indiaman of 755 tons under the command of Captain William Hall, which was making her first voyage to "the Coast and Bay." This vessel left the Downs on January 17, sailed from Portsmouth on March 11, and reached Calcutta on September 13 all in the year 1783. In the list of officers included in the ship's log (I. O. Logs 415 A) there is an entry against the name of Zoffany: "run at Calcutta 17 Sept. 1783:" and his desertion was no doubt arranged with the Captain (18). Now, Sir Elijah Impey left Calcutta on December 3, 1783: so that, if this picture was painted in India, the Chief Justice must have sat to Zoffany immediately upon his arrival, and Zoffany must have completed his work in the space of two and a half months!

Zoffany painted other pictures of and for Impey: but these must have been executed at a later period when both had returned to England: and probably this was the case with the High Court picture (19). Mr. Edward Impey, of the Corner House, Steeple Aston, Trowbridge, is mentioned by Dr. Williamson as the owner of a large group representing Impey and his wife, with three children in Indian dress, an ayah, and other Indian servants. Of the two portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, one is attributed to Zoffany. It was bequeathed in 1872 by Sir Roderick Murchison and is a three-quarter length. Impey is represented seated to below the knees with his face almost in profile to the left, and is dressed in a plain dark coat. He wears no wig and appears to be of middle age. The other portrait which is drawn in crayon by Sir Thomas Lawrence in 1786 and was presented in 1899 by Mr. William Hartree, is in an oval frame. The head and shoulders are alone seen: and Impey is sitting and looking to the right. He wears a tie-wig (of the type now worn by barristers) and ordinary dress. The face is fuller than in the painting by Zoffany.

H. E. A. COTTON

(18) According to Thomas Twining (*Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 294) Zoffany came out to India with Thomas Longcroft, who accompanied him to Lucknow and subsequently set up as an indigo-planter at Jellowlee, near Aligarh, where Twining came across him in December 1794. Zoffany and Longcroft may have made the voyage together, but an entry in the East India Directory of 1795 and 1796, distinctly states that "Thomas Longcroft, portrait painter, Lucknow" and "David Wolf, painter" (who is otherwise unknown to fame) came out in the *Eurydice* in 1784.

(19) Evidence, however, is not wanting that the picture was painted in Calcutta. A portrait of Impey by Zoffany was undoubtedly in the possession of Warren Hastings while he was in India. On December 18, 1787, Nesbitt Thompson writes from Moidapoor (Moorshedabad): "Zophany has sent me very lately the Kit Cat portraits of yourself, Sir Elijah Impey, and the Shah Zadeh. I will pack them carefully and send them to you by one of the ships of this season. I have not received the small full-length picture of yourself and Mrs. Hastings" (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XVII, p. 120). The last-mentioned picture must be the one which is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection,

APPENDIX.

THE FREE MERCHANT'S ADDRESS TO SIR ELIJAH IMPEY AND HIS REPLY.

The text of the following address and reply is given in a pamphlet published by J. Bew at 28 Paternoster Row London in 1776 and dated from Calcutta August 13, 1775. The author is stated on the title page to be "a Gentleman Resident in Calcutta," and was probably Captain Joseph Price. It is noticeable that Tilly Kettle himself and James Augustus Hicky were among the signatories. Hicky had occasion later on to alter his view of the merits of Impey as a Judge. As the execution of Nuncomar took place on Saturday August 5, 1775, the pamphlet must have been compiled in great haste in order to forestall the version of the trial which were likely to be sent to England by the partisans of Clavering, Monson and Francis. The full title is as follows: "A / Narrative / of / Facts / leading to the / Trials / of / Maha Rajah Nundcomar and Thomas Fowke / for / Conspiracies against Governor Hastings and / Richard Barwell Esqrs. / Members of the Supreme Council at Bengal / and to the / Trial of Maha Rajah Nundocomar / For Forgery / with some / Extraordinary Anecdotes pending and subsequent to those prosecutions / in which are introduced the / Genuine Addresses / of the / Grand Jury, European and Armenian Inhabitants of Calcutta / to / Sir Elijah Impey Knt. Chief Justice / and the other / Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature / with / Their Lordship's Answers." The whole pamphlet was reproduced in *Bengal Past and Present* in 1914 (Vol. IX. pp. 259-281.)

* * * *

THE ADDRESS.

*To the Honourable Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, Chief Justice
of the Supreme Court.*

MY LORD,

We the Free Merchants, Free Mariners, and other inhabitants of the town of Calcutta, deeply affected with a sense of the manifold benefits which are derived to this Settlement from the institution of the Supreme Court of Judicature, beg leave to wait on your lordship to testify before you in this public matter our gratitude to our most Gracious Sovereign, and to the Legislature of Great Britain, for the inestimable obligation they have thus conferred upon us. Far distant from the mother-country, and necessarily deprived of a constitutional protection, which other Colonists enjoy in the Assembly of the People, we were also left under a feeble and uncomplete administration of the laws of England, till your arrival in Bengal. We then had the happiness to see the power of the law firmly established above all other powers, and an equal measure of Justice distributed to all men.

At the same time, my lord, that we address our warmest expression of thanks to your lordship, for the security to our persons and properties which we enjoy under the protection of the Court; it is with unfeigned acknowledgements we do justice to the merits, integrity and abilities of your Brethren.

The eminent station to which your sovereign has been pleased to call you, puts you in a point of view more exposed to the observation of the people, and renders your talents and virtues more conspicuous. We have all of us had occasion, many of us as jurymen, to observe through the course of the full exercise of the various jurisdictions vested in your Court, the candour, wisdom, and moderation, with which you have conducted all their proceedings. It is not alone that intimate acquaintance with the laws which you display on these occasions that attracts our admiration, or that superior sagacity in detecting the sophisms which are advanced under their colour but the steady unshaken conduct which you pursue in maintaining the dignity and independency of the King's Court, unawed by opposition of any sort, in impartially granting to every man under all circumstances the protection to which he is legally entitled, and in repressing the spirit of litigiousness, and the chicanery and quirks of practitioners.

We particularly felt our breast glow with the warmest sentiments of gratitude, when we heard you from the highest seat of justice, supported by the unanimous voice of your Brethren, reprobate with every just mark of indignation the insidious attempt to introduce into practice the granting of blank subpoenas for the attendance of witnesses. So detestable an instrument of oppression in the hands of the wicked or powerful men, might have produced the full effects of the edicts of the inquisition, or the *lettres de cachet* of the most arbitrary state. Our reputation, our fortunes, and perhaps our lives, would have been in that case left at the mercy of every profligate informer, who

might have been detached into the country, loaded with blank subpoenas, to fish for evidence in any suit or prosecution, among an abject and timid people, ignorant of the nature of these writs, who would have considered them merely as mandates from authority to swear as they were directed, and been ready to sacrifice truth, honour and religion, to the dread of power.

We cannot also refrain from declaring how much we esteem ourselves indebted to the pains you bestowed, during the course of the late tedious and important trial, in patiently investigating the evidence, and tracing the truth through all the intricacies of perjury and prevarication, and in finally detecting and putting in the way of condign punishment the cloud of false witnesses, who seem to have acted from concert, and to have had hopes of introducing into the Court, under the shelter of an unknown tongue, and concealed forms of oath, a general system of false swearing, to the total subversion of all reliance on evidence, and to the utmost danger to the life and property of every man in these provinces.

Permit us then for our own sakes, and for the sake of all his Majesty's subjects in Bengal, to express our most hearty and sincere wishes for your health and prosperity; and that you may long continue among us, to fill that chair, where you now sit with so much luster, and so much to our advantage and to that of the whole settlement.

Before we withdraw from your presence we have one suit to prefer, which we hope in kindness will not be denied us. We request your lordship that you would be pleased to sit for your portrait at full length to the painter to whom we shall appoint to draw it. We propose to put it up in the town-hall, or some other public room, merely as a gratification to our own sentiments of esteem and respect for you; well-knowing that your virtues, and the services you render to the public, will erect a much more durable monument to your name and character in the memories of the latest posterity.

C. S. Playdell
John Robinson
Joseph Price
Robert Holford
John Ferguson
Harry Grant
Cudbert Thornhill
Robert Dobinson
L. D' Costa
F. Lherondell
F. Le Blanc
Charles Short
Joshua Nixon
Robert Watson
William Richardson
T[ysoe] S[aul] Hancock

Thomas Morris
S. Montaignet
John Prinsep
John Miller
R. Parks
Jacob Rider
William Johnson
E. Tiretta
Thomas Gill
Alexander Rattray
James Stewart Hall
J. J. Irwin
Edward M'Intosh
James Augustus Hicky
Thomas Sheills
Robert Donald

R. Sanderson
 Thomas Cragie
 William Swallow
 John Deveil
 Thomas Smith
 L. Oliver
 Edward Scott
 Alexander Murray
 Robert M'Farlane
 R. J. Goold
 Charles Weston
 John Belli
 R. Spencer
 John Rich
 Samuel Weller
 Tilly Kettle
 John Williams
 William Haig
 William Cummings
 John Bayne
 Jamts Wittett
 Bryan Glover
 Montague Burman
 Thomas Thomas
 John Burrell
 Alexander Smart

T. D. Willmot
 Arthur Adie
 William Barrington
 William Bonfield
 Thomas Peile
 Edward Wileman
 A. Falkonar
 John Collis
 John Gilkinet
 John Hearn
 John Taylor
 T. Clements
 George Nodes
 Alexander M'Neil
 William Briggs
 William Aldridge
 William Wilmott
 S. Fildar
 B. Messinck
 Thomas Adams
 J. Brightman
 J. Bracy
 Robert Brown
 Moses Conner
 R. Strachey
 J. Ogden.

ANSWER OF THE CHIEF JUSTICE.

GENTLEMEN,

I know nothing that can give me greater satisfaction, than that which I received by your thus testifying your due sense and gratitude to his Majesty, for erecting an independent Court of Justice in this Settlement; and thereby extending the full protection of the English laws to the natives of this country, and to his British subjects at this distant extremity of the British empire.

The protection of the laws is the only constitutional protection that can consist with a free government. Protection by power only, is capricious; it may shelter the guilty as well as the innocent.

We can assume no great merit in not allowing the blank subpoenas to issue in the case you allude to. They were moved for the purpose of being sent high up into the country, though the fact charged was committed in Calcutta, expressly to bring down such witnesses as might come in, though the party applying neither professed to know either what the witnesses were to prove, or that such witnesses actually existed. Such subpoenas would be considered

by the timid natives as mandates, and if suffered to have been made use of by wicked men of power or influence, you most truly say, that your reputation, property, and lives, could not be safe; it would have subverted that justice which it is our duty to enforce. There is little doubt, had they been granted, instead of having those witnesses produced, most of whom you know, and so justly reprobate, we should have had a new troop of false witnesses.

Neither can we assume to ourselves any extraordinary merit or sagacity in detecting the falsehoods of the witnesses produced at the trial. The subject-matter of the evidence, the manner of delivering it, and the persons who delivered, made the imposition attempt to be put on the Court, too gross to deceive either the Court, or such by-standers who did not through prejudice wish to be deceived.

Two things operate to make our situations easy to us; the one, that we have a strict rule for our conduct, the law; the other is, that we do not administer justice privately. The eyes of all the inhabitants of the Settlement are upon us: they by that means become judges of our conduct, and will bestow on us censure or confidence, in proportion as we deserve the one or the other.

In the present unhappy state of the Settlement, we are most sensibly affected by receiving the public approbation of two such respectable bodies of men as the Grand Jury and the Free Merchants and Mariners of this town; of a Grand Jury elected by ballot from all the Company's servants below the Governor-General and Council, and from all the substantial inhabitants of this place; of the Free Merchants and Mariners, a body of men from their situations independent and unbiassed by interest or fear. We feel our conduct approved by the whole Settlement. The voice of the Grand Jury so elected, and of the Free Merchants and Mariners, is the voice of the Settlement.

I entertain the highest sense of the great honour done me by the marks of esteem that you are pleased particularly to address to me. The first and great satisfaction which I feel in my present situation is, the approbation of my own conscience; the next, that those to whom I administer justice bestow their approbation on my conduct, and put full confidence in the rectitude of my intentions.

It is with the greatest alacrity that I accept of the honour proposed me; for being unconscious either of exerting or possessing any peculiar talents, I understand it at least as much a public testimony of gratitude to his Majesty, for adopting the measure of erecting an independent Court of Justice in this town, as a personal compliment to the humble instrument of carrying his gracious intentions into execution.

The Merchant Zemindars.

*"Ejectum litore, egentem
Except, et regi demens in parte locavi."
Aeneid.*

PART I, "THE THREE TOWNS."

IT is the object of the following paper to lend a new interest to the somewhat uninspiring subject of the position of the East India Company as zemindars in Bengal. "Zemindari" is a word for students of revenue history to conjure with; and the Company's own experience and practice have a bearing on the exact nature of that amorphous functionary, the zemindar in Mogul times, which is often overlooked. My view-point however is not so much to examine these revenue questions as to show the practical political purposes to which the Company turned their position as zemindars of the area comprised by a portion of the present town of Calcutta, then known as the "three towns." From this we shall proceed to examine the nature of the claim created for them to the zemindari of a larger area of 38 "towns" by the Firmaund of the Emperor Farruksiyar, and of the part which this claim played in the Company's diplomacy after the fall of Calcutta. The story will show first the conversion of a revenue status into settled territorial occupation of the area within which that status was held, subsequently the extension of claims encouraged by the success of this first experiment, with scant regard to the actual terms of the further concessions obtained, and finally the absorption of zemindari rights in those of the governing power. Readers who are interested primarily in revenue technique will find little of this aspect beyond the summary recently published in Chapter IX of Archdeacon Firminger's Introduction to the Fifth Report (1) but it is hoped that this article may afford a fuller rendering of the facts for the broader purposes of the historian.

From the beginning it is necessary to make two broad distinctions in the nature of our subject matter. The first is between the theories held by the Court about the zemindari, and the practice of the authorities in Calcutta in its administration. Fortunately theory and practice ran for the greater part of the time on parallel lines, though divergencies occur, and naturally the Court in the recesses of the East India House did most of the theorising. The second distinction is between the zemindari of the "three towns" on which the Company consolidated their position in Calcutta, and the zemindari of the "thirty eight towns," to which the Company's claim dated from 1717. The latter they never actually obtained in the form in which it was granted. In place of the 38 towns they secured the zemindari rights of the

(1) Firminger, Introduction to the Fifth Report p. lxxv.

24-Pargannahs in the year 1757. By that time the whole Mogul system was beginning to crumble away. Within the next few years the Company were first mortgagees, then assignees, of wider territorial tracts, and finally Dewan of the whole province, so that the larger zemindari holding ceased to be a recognisable feature in the administration almost as soon as it was obtained. In the case of the "three towns" it was use made of rights acquired which influenced history. In the case of the 38 towns interest turns to the interpretation placed on unsatisfied claims.

The terms on which Job Charnock was allowed to settle in the village of Sutanattee, a small area within the boundaries of North Calcutta, are not on record, but they enabled the Company in Bengal to derive a small income from the bazaar which amounted at the end of the year 1694 to Rs. 160 per mensem (2). In these early years the successors of Job Charnock had two objectives before them, the expansion of local revenue, and security of settlement, without which it was futile to build in brick. For the latter they hoped to obtain a Parwanah from the Nawab, and Duan; and, as a temporary expedient to increase their revenues they proposed to farm two or three adjacent towns. A General Letter from "Chuttanuttee" dated 14 December 1694 (3) clearly distinguishes the two objectives. "We cannot lay impositions on the people though never so reasonable till such time as we can pretend to a right to the place which the farming of the towns adjacent will soon cause, and procure us the liberty of collecting such dues of the inhabitants as is consistent with out mthods and rules of Government. And this is the only means we can think of till we can procure a grant for our firm settlement." When the gentlemen in Sutanattee secured the purchase in 1698 of the zemindari of three villages from the reluctant holders under pressure of the Subah's Nishan, they in effect killed two birds with one stone. Revenue and security were alike comprised in the zemindari, and the interest of the next fifty years lies in the quiet and steady development of this position.

It was by no means a free sale, the previous zemindars protesting to the last, and threatening an appeal to the Emperor at Delhi. Under the threat of this action which was the last thing the Company wanted, they raised the actual monetary consideration paid to the dispossessed zemindars from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,300 (4). This figure which was slightly in excess of one year's purchase of the revenue payable to the Subah (Rs. 1,194-15-5) (5) and less of course than one year's gross income from the estate, must have been far below the true value of the concession, even without the special prospects from the Company's management. No wonder that the Consultation of the day recorded it as "the best money that ever was spent."

(2) Wilson. *Old Fort William in Bengal*, 1 pp. 4-15.

(3) Wilson. *op. cit.* 1, 15.

(4) Wilson: *op. cit.* 1, p. 41.

(5) Firminger: *Fifth Report*: *Introd.* p. lxxviii. The sum is given as Rs. 1,181-8 in the *Parwannah of Farrukhsiyar* referred to below: note (12).

A good deal however had been spent elsewhere. Archdeacon Firminger mentions in a footnote paving the way with a "douceur" of Rs. 16,000 (6) to the Subah. The note is not complete. There was no payment of this sum to the Subah, and the charge of Rs. 16,000 did not relate primarily to negotiations about the zemindari. The total expenses of missions to the Nabab's Court at this time, on the other hand, exceeded this amount, and were ruefully described by the Court as a "large hole in our cash" (7). It is difficult to assign charges definitely against the zemindari because the Chief and Council were negotiating in the years 1697—1698 for other concessions as well (8). In January 1698 they report that they have entrusted to their representative in negotiations with "the prince" i.e., Aurangzeb's grandson Prince Azim, Subah of Bengal, cloth and rarities to the value of Rs. 16,000, their special concern then being the exclusion of interlopers and the concession of a mint at Hooghly. It was not till the beginning of March 1698 that, on the failure of their negotiations with the zemindars for farming the zemindari of the three towns they decided to approach the prince direct about this also. At the end of this month they heard from Mr. Walsh who was then with the Subah in his Camp at Burdwan (9) that a further sum of Rs. 6,000 would be required for the Subah's officers, "who if not gratified would meddle with the business." A few days later they were informed that the terms for the acquisition of the zemindari included a payment of Rs. 2,000 to the prince, whether out of this Rs. 6,000 is not clear, but obviously in addition to the present of goods to the value of Rs. 16,000. In September when leaving Burdwan (10) the mission found it tactful to promise the Subah three brass cannons, to which the Council added a present of glassware; and there is some reason to believe that annual presents followed till 1702 when they "put him off with fair words."

I have used the term zemindari of the three towns for want of a better as this came at once into use in the Company's correspondence, and has been generally accepted. What was really obtained, and it is as well to define this precisely, at the outset, was the right to collect and pay revenue for three contiguous areas, together with such privileges and duties of local administration as Mogul custom attached to this function. These areas were the revenue units, "villages" as we say now, or "towns" as the Company then described them, of Sutanattee, Calcutta and Gobindapore, extending from North Calcutta to the region of the present Fort. The area and revenue in question fell within the personal estate assigned by the Emperor at Delhi to the Subah of Bengal: and when the transaction received purely formal confirmation from the Emperor at Delhi in 1717, the right in question was described as a

(6) Firminger : Fifth Report : p. lxvii.

(7) Wilson : Old Fort William : I, 44.

(8) Wilson. *ibid.* I, p. 31.

(9) Wilson. *ibid.* I, 35.

(10) Wilson. *ibid.* I, 38.

(11) Firminger, Fifth Report : Introd : lxviii,

"Talukdari" and not as a zemindari at all (12). The transfer of these rights was confirmed at the time of the original transaction by a deed of sale (13) from the former "zemindars" a translation of which exists, and by the "Nishan" of the Subah which is lost. It would be interesting to ascertain how far the terms of this deed of sale represent those of contemporary documents under the Mogul regime, or were insisted on by the Company's servants, with the English law in their minds. In the translation preserved the former holders make a "true and legal conveyance of the villages with rents and uncultivated lands and ponds and groves and rights over fishing and woodland and dues from resident artisans." The document does not describe the rights acquired either as a zemindari or talukdari and the general tone suggests rather the English lawyer than the Mogul revenue official.

There is abundant material for analysing the details of the revenue derived from the zemindari. It is however throughout more with the underlying principles that this article is concerned. From the outset the Company were untroubled with the reflection, so obvious to the legal theorist, that what they had obtained by compulsory purchase they might in law be required to part with in like manner. By November 1699 the three towns were "a place where the Moors have nothing to do withall." (14) Revenue and fortifications were the corner stone of the structure to be built on the basis of the zemindari. Bengal became a Presidency and the settlement at Sutanattee became Fort William immediately the Court heard that the zemindari had been acquired, and because of the status which it gave to the Company. "Along with the consideration of the great investments it is our being possessed of a strong fortification and large tract of land and prospect from thence of raising a considerable revenue" which "incline" the Court in 1698 to declare Bengal a Presidency and it is in the same letter that the Fort is named Fort William. So early as the following year the Court had begun to think of the zemindari, to quote their own incautious phrase, as "our dominion in Bengal" (15).

To the *tour de force* by which measures of self defence against the ruling power were eventually based on zemindari rights I shall return later on. The revenue policy is independent, and self-contained. The object of the Court, as reiterated in letter after letter was by good management to increase the revenues so as to make these pay for the current costs of the settlement. That is to say, if the idea was ever worked out to its ultimate conclusion, the proceedings of the zemindari would pay for the salaries of officials and costs of the upkeep and defence of Fort William and its neighbourhood, leaving no

(12) "Talukdari rights of Sutanattee, Calcutta and Gobindapore in the pargannah of Amirabad which they have purchased from the zemindars" are the terms of the copy of Farrukshyar's Parwannah in a paper read by Dr. Bal Krishna at the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1925.

(13) Wilson : Old Fort William : I, p. 40-44.

(14) Wilson. *ibid.* I, 44.

(15) Wilson. *ibid.* I, 48.

deductions to be made on that account from profit on the trade in Bengal. When it is remembered that in 1709 for instance the salaries of the Company's servants for the half year were Rs. 4,345 (16) while the zemindari was by then returning a nett profit of about Rs. 1,000 per mensem, it will be seen that this was a practical and business like objective. The reason that in the long run it was never attained was that defence charges were always running away from the increase in the zemindari receipts, until zemindari, defences, and all, were wiped out in 1756.

In the main there was perfect understanding between the Court and their servants in Bengal as to the lines of the revenue policy to be pursued, and throughout the first half of the eighteenth century this was cautious and mild. The anxiety of the Company's servants in Calcutta to avoid giving any pretext for intervention of the Indian authorities in the affairs of the settlement operated as a check to any innovation or increase of the rates of rent which might provoke an outcry or attract attention. "Keep what you have and do better when you can" was the slogan adopted by the Court, in so many words, in 1699 (17). Assimilation to the methods of neighbouring country zemindaries was to be the first principle in revenue administration. "You may soon come to the knowledge of what duties are paid in neighbouring Towns, and follow the like methods in yours as to the manner, but make them, if you see fit, easier as to the measure," write the Court in 1705 (18). And again in 1712 the Governor and Council in Calcutta qualify their promise of increased revenues by the reminder that they must follow their present methods. "which is what the zemindars around us do." Within these limits however the Court expected the maximum receipts, and in the same letter in 1705 urged the Council in Calcutta to "realise the utmost penny of our ground rents." They were thinking all the time, as the language shows, of the English landlord system.

But where, within these limitations, was scope for increase of revenues to be looked for? While alive to the paramount necessity of unobtrusiveness the Court found the answer in the expected increase of population through the good management and security of the settlement; and the progress of the settlement realised these expectations. The Court outlined their theory in 1699 "well knowing that when they shall find the impartiality and mildness of the English Government they will easily be induced to take themselves to your protection, and in a short time render the territory within your grant the most flourishing spot of ground in Bengal" (19). Twenty years later they expatiate again on the results of "exact justice" in increasing the population and "the more such inhabitants there are the more will our revenues increase" (20). Exact justice, together with the other amenities of life in the

(16) *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, (C. R. Wilson) I, 322.

(17) Wilson. *Old Fort William*: I, 45.

(18) Wilson, *ibid.* I, 62.

(19) Wilson, *ibid.* I, 3.

(20) Wilson, *ibid.* I, 106.

Company's bounds, certainly paid. To quote the figures for two months somewhat at random, the nett revenue from the settlement brought to the cash account of the Company rose from Rs. 1,352 in July 1709 to Rs. 2,705 in August 1714, and the Council in Calcutta never tire of recording the success of their policy. "Revenues especially the rent of the three towns increase yearly people flocking there (so as) to make the neighbouring zemindars envy them." One detects again the lurking apprehension that too great a measure of success may defeat its own object by attracting undesirable attention to the value of the Company's concession.

A few words as regards the practical administration of the towns will show how these principles were applied. From the year 1700 the Council appointed a European as "zemindar" who was responsible for all branches of the zemindari administration. He appears usually, if not always, to have been one of the Company's servants in Calcutta, and was given the assistance of a "black zemindar," whose defalcations are a constant source of perplexity. The zemindar's primary function was the collection of ground rents and bazaar dues, but as the settlement developed, his work anticipated various branches of revenue and municipal administration. In the year 1703 he was made registering authority for all sales and leases and mortgages of land (21). A duty of 5 per cent. was payable to the Company on the sale of buildings and compounds except apparently by the European residents who successfully resisted this levy in 1753; and through the agency of the zemindar the Council exercised some kind of general control over all dealings in land within their boundaries. Market dues were an important part of the zemindari income, and the zemindar was responsible for watching and promoting the development of the bazaars (22). For instance it was through his agency that a new bazaar ("ganj") was opened in Golindapore in 1720 and thirty-seven years later he was called on to arrange for the transfer of this market to Kidderpore, and for the payment of compensation entailed, when the site was required for the new Fort. Zemindari powers were extended by the Governor and Council to the regulation of trade by action such as prohibiting the export of rice on the occasion of a shortage in 1739 (23). As the outcome no doubt of his responsibility for the collection of petty tolls on merchandise for the bazaars brought into Calcutta the zemindar assumed, at any rate towards the middle of the seventeenth century, very definite powers of control over the admission of outsiders into the settlement. Holwell as zemindar in 1756 was subsequently suspected of having received Rs. 50,000 to facilitate the admission of Kissen Das the refugee from Dacca to Calcutta, which was one of the factors leading up to the conflict with Seraj-ud-Doula; and certainly, when a few weeks later the Nawab's messenger to Drake arrived at the Water gate it was on Holwell as zemindar that responsibility for admitting him devolved. The con-

(21) Wilson, *Old Fort William*, I, 53.

(22) Wilson, *ibid*, I, 107.

(23) Wilson, *ibid*, I, 150.

trol of the market led to assumption by the zemindar of responsibility for such purely municipal activities as the maintenance of the roads and drains, and there are repeated instructions to him to remove the obstructions which so frequently obtrude thereon in an Indian town. There is a particularly interesting glimpse (24) of the concrete nature of the zemindar's functions in his report on the damage done by a storm in September 1737, which mentions among the buildings damaged, the zemindar's own Kutcherry "where the Jemindars sit to hear causes," eight Kutcheries in the bazaar and three towns, a large number of Chokies, or outpost buildings, over twenty gates of which one only was pucca, and bridges and roads, all of which structures it fell apparently to him to repair.

As regards municipal works it is interesting to observe the development of the principle that the settlement should be made to pay for itself. It was no longer a matter of paying for the working expenses of a trading outpost out of the profits of the zemindari. The inhabitants were expected to contribute, over and above their payments of rent and bazaar dues, to the special cost of works of local improvement (25). In 1727 they contributed towards the mending of the roads and bridges, and in 1730 they found Rs. 5000 out of Rs. 8000 spent on similar work, but it raised a clamour. "An equitable assessment on all housekeepers in proportion to the value of their respective tenements had certainly been the right method to prevent all clamour" was the comment of the Court (26), without any attempt to reconcile so peculiarly English a principle of local administration with the customs of a Bengal zemindari. The inhabitants contributed to the cost of constructing the jail which was a charge on the zemindari. Finally it was the zemindar who, at the suggestion of the leading merchants (27) assessed the inhabitants to the cost of a work of military defence in the shape of the Mahratta Ditch. Each of these activities of the zemindar is of individual importance in the history of Calcutta and in the study of the zemindari as a Mogul institution. Their ultimate interest lies in the fusion of the rights belonging to the zemindar under the ancient Indian system with the conception of a local self-governing authority under the English law in the eighteenth century. There is abundant material for further investigation, but considerations of space preclude greater detail.

It is necessary however to dwell for a moment on the position of the Company through their zemindar in regard to the maintenance of law and order and petty criminal and civil jurisdiction in Calcutta; for this aspect of the zemindari brings us once more closely into touch with the underlying political realities. Nothing perhaps is more remarkable than the success with which the Company under cover of the zemindari quietly ousted the criminal and judicial jurisdiction of the Subah and his officers from their territories. This may fairly be described as the outcome of a conscious and deliberate policy.

(24) Wilson : *Old Fort William* : I, 146.

(25) Wilson, *ibid.*, I, 123.

(26) Wilson, *ibid.*, I, 135.

(27) Wilson, *ibid.*, I, 175

So early as 1702, when Murshed Kuli Khan new Dewan was showing a certain inquisitiveness as to the Company's settlement, the Governor and Council report (28) that they "move with all caution imaginable not to offend the Government and to prevent any of the King's officers to be amongst your Honours tenants for the administration of Justice, *which should they attempt to do we must forcibly turn them out (!!) [Italics mine, and exclamations. Murshed Kuli Khan's.]* And as a matter of fact there does not appear to be on record any case of intervention by the Fauzdar at Hooghly in the criminal justice of the settlement, or by any other country authority in the civil disputes of the inhabitants. To such lengths was this policy of unobtrusiveness taken that two years later when an English sailor was murdered in the Bazaar, and the culprits arrested, no action was taken against them as there was no Court of Judicature in Calcutta (29). Whatever the zemindar's judicial functions it was realised that they did not extend to capital cases, while on the other hand it was out of the question to take the affair to the Fauzdar at Hooghly.

Reference has already been made to the mention, in the year 1737, of the zemindar's Kutcherri "where he sits to hear causes;" but for some reason the Council were not disposed at first to entrust this official with the exercise of the minor judicial functions which were an integral part of the zemindari. In the year 1704 the judicial functions of the zemindar seem to have been vested in a Court constituted by three members of the Council to determine small causes, more important disputes perhaps being reserved for the Council as a whole. A definite exercise of criminal jurisdiction by the Council through this Court is found in an order in Council on the case of several robbers and thieves arrested two years later. "That the gentlemen belonging to the Court do burn these persons on the cheek and turn them on the other side of the water" (30)—an anticipation in fact, except for the branding, of a recent enactment of the Bengal legislature. By the year 1732 the zemindar appears to have been exercising judicial functions personally, as we learn from an interesting reference to the loss of revenue caused by the preference of the inhabitants for taking their cases to the Mayor's Court recently established (31) "nor to have them decided by the zemindar as formerly." Later on the personal conduct by the zemindar of a separate magisterial and revenue Court was an essential feature of Holwell's masterful administration of the post. The criminal jurisdiction of the zemindari was among the last of its functions to survive; and in 1774, some fourteen years after, the zemindar had become the Collector and when the old revenue jurisdiction had been merged in the Company's status as Dewan, Warren Hastings points out that his new Sadar Phauzdari Adalat comprises the judicial functions of the zemindar's Court (32).

(28) Wilson. Old Fort William : I, 49.

(29) Early Annals of the English in Bengal (C. R. Wilson) I, 253.

(30) Early Annals of the English in Bengal I, 274.

(31) Wilson. Old Fort William, I, 136.

(32) Monckton Jones : Warren Hastings, p. 327.

There is less obscurity about the responsibility of the zemindar for policing the town and for the custody of prisoners. In 1704 he was ordered to employ a small establishment of Peons and others, including two Chobdars, an official now seen only on ceremonial occasions; and this force was increased two years later. These establishments are the first germs of a Calcutta Police, and were employed definitely for the suppression of crime in the settlement, including the "black town." Of greater political interest however as marking the Company's attitude *vis à vis* neighbouring zemindars was the employment on receipt of the news of the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, of sixty "black soldiers" to be posted round the town as a protection against neighbouring zemindars "fearing that the neighbouring zemindars in case of trouble may rob and plunder the Company's towns." Repairs by the zemindar to the Jail House have already been mentioned, and a stray item among the receipts in his accounts is the proceeds of sale of irons from prisoners' feet.

The first half of the eighteenth century was a period of quiet consolidation in the Company's affairs in Bengal; and, when once the main features have been determined it cannot be said that the detailed history of the zemindari during this period is of great interest. The Company's servants found in it their first experience in the pitfalls of local administration in Bengal. Increase of the revenues was stimulated from time to time by discovery of abuses or by a fresh survey with consequent assessment of land occupied without payment of revenue. Towards the middle of this period awkward questions arose as to the permanency both of the revenue paid by the Company for their zemindari, and of the ground rent levied by the Company as zemindar from their tenants. A sense of logic was never a distinguishing feature of the Company's Directorate, and their position appears to have been that they could make what they could out of the zemindari, without themselves being liable to any increase in the revenue paid by them to the Subah. The indignation of the Court knew no bounds when in 1727 they learnt that a demand had been made by the Subah's Jagirdar, Abdur Rahim by name, for Rs. 44,000 on account of arrears of rent for the past twelve years, on the ground that a similar increase had been made in the revenue payable by neighbouring zemindars (33); and they were prepared to close the Port rather than acquiesce. The positions were reversed a few years later when the Governor in Council deviated from the policy of cautious observance of zemindari custom so far as to propose increasing the ground-rent above the rate of Rs. 3 per bigha at which it had stood from the beginning. This reached the ear of the Subah who warned the Council in Calcutta that they would "by the laws of the empire forfeit their lands" if they disturbed the customary rent.

This abortive attempt was a sign of the more active and forward policy in the administration of zemindari which is in evidence towards the middle of the eighteenth century, a development well illustrated by the petty accessions of territory which were secured in these years. The need for more room had

(33) Wilson. *Cid Fort William I*, 24,

been felt long before and had much to do with the negotiations for the zemindari of the 38 towns to be discussed later on. It was not however till 1746 that the Company actually secured a small extension of territory by incorporating in their zemindari a detached area of about 50 acres "about a league distant from the three towns". This was situated somewhere opposite the eastern end of the present Theatre Road. The acquisition merely meant the inclusion of an area comprised in the original grant which had been overlooked, but which was admitted by the zemindar in possession, after much discussion, to form part of the three towns. "They did at length give up their claims upon which we set up your honour's flag and erected a Kutcherri there" (34). Notice the flag. It is significant of the new trend that the income from this area was almost doubled in the second year.

Seven years later under Holwell's administration it was proposed to rent a "town" called Baliadanga, that is apparently to take a lease of it from the zemindar, but it is not clear whether the idea was carried out. The next step was in the same year to obtain a large plot of land in Kidderpore (35) for the accommodation of the Company's weavers, the site being available for a ground rent of Re. 1 per Bigha "provided the use it is intended for is concealed until we get possession". Finally next year Holwell negotiated the most important acquisition of territory since the acquisition of the three towns by farming the "towns" of Simla and Macunda (36). These comprised an area of over 1000 acres situated actually within the outer boundaries of the original three towns, in the present North Calcutta. It is significant of the pressure of the forward policy by this year that the Company formed these two towns, estimated to yield an income of Rs. 2,680 per mensem, for a rent of Rs. 2,281, or almost twice the rent paid 56 years before for the three towns. The purchase of an area in the South of the town in the same year, to make more room for the bazaar at Gobindapore completes this phase of the zemindari administration.

It was no mere accident that Holwell's name is associated with these last three acquisitions. His tenure of the office of zemindar from 1752 till the crash in 1756 marks the final departure of the Council in Calcutta from the policy of cautious development, in favour of running the zemindari as a business concern for the maximum profits. His administration was a triumph of departmentalism, in the sense that he realised considerably more revenue out of the zemindari than any of his predecessors had contemplated. It is an open question however to what extent this was the result of *bona fide* improvement in existing methods and to the removal of frauds and abuses, or to the revolutionising of the zemindari system without adequate regard to the effect of this change of policy on the interests of the Company's affairs as a whole. The long array of testimonials from the Court (37) which Holwell, in his injured

(34) Wilson. Old Fort William I, 202.

(35) Wilson. *ibid*, II, 2.

(36) Wilson. *ibid*, II, 11.

(37) S. C. Hill. Bengal in 1756-57. III 370.

innocence, produced to meet imputations made against him after the fall of Calcutta are to be read with Tooke's picture of the discontent caused by his administration (38). It would need a treatise of some length on this point alone to reach a fair evaluation of Holwell's policy. For present purposes it is enough to point out this aspect of his administration. The Company are losing touch with the old zemindari tradition, and throwing aside the veil which had covered their territorial jurisdiction. Long ago they had inadvertently spoken of it as a dominion, and had always thought of it as such themselves. Now under Holwell's guidance it had become more than ever a branch of business to be run for all it was worth. The Court did not realise the change, persuading themselves in fact that it had not occurred "he has evidently raised our revenues to a very considerable extent without imposing any new duties or oppressing the poor". But, however Holwell represented his measures to the fatherly Court—had he told them for instance about his new system of licencing prostitutes (39).—Holwell was there to push the zemindari as it had never been pushed before; and probably as an administrative policy it was a mistake.

But revenues must be increased. For all the while the ideal of making the settlement pay for itself receded further in the distance, as schemes of fortification became more and more grandiose. "Pray gentlemen, if possible, let Calcutta be well secured, for it is a place of infinite consequence," wrote Engineer Robins on his deathbed in 1751 (40). The cost of the fortifications proposed would have far exceeded the utmost income possible from the zemindari, and the Court contemplated realising part at least of these special charges by levies for the purpose. "We particularly recommend to you to point out some method whereby the expence of works round Calcutta may be borne by the inhabitants either voluntarily or by easy duties," they write in 1750 (41). The theory of zemindari rights was being pushed to strange extremes, for what rights apart from those of the zemindari tenure had the Company to levy duties in Calcutta? As a matter of fact these instructions appear to have been ignored, and in this respect the Council in Calcutta showed a livelier appreciation of the limits of their status than the Court. But more astonishing still, the right itself to construct fortifications, which in their hearts Court and Council alike realised to be a measure of defence against the country power, was to be justified out of this same grant of the zemindari by that power. It was Watts in Cossimbazar who advanced the theory that liberty to take these measures was part of the zemindari tenure, when the question came up whether the Nawab's permission should be obtained for the works contemplated in 1754 "We are settled in Calcutta by full and positive Firmaund from the King, from which we have reason to insist on a right to secure our settlement in such manner as we think neces-

(38) Hill: Bengal in 1756-57 I, 266.

(39) Hill. *ibid.*, I, 218.

(40) Wilson. *Old Fort William* I, 235.

(41) Wilson. *ibid.*, I, 227.

sary" (42). This seems to have been enough to satisfy the conscience of the Council and the Court; but zemindari rights were being strained to the breaking point.

We are passing in fact from the region of political realities to that of diplomatic make-belief and at this point the sketch of the first zemindari must close. In 1756 the whole fabric was swept away. The Collector of Calcutta whose name takes the place of the zemindar after the recapture of Calcutta preserved continuity of the office, but the original zemindari may be said never to have reappeared as a political factor. By the time that the refugees had made themselves at home once more in Calcutta in 1757, the Company had acquired wider territorial interests and the three towns are hardly heard of as a separate entity again.

C. W. GURNER.

(42) Wilson. Old Fort William, I, 219.

Survivors of the Black Hole.

SO much attention has been concentrated upon those who perished in the Black Hole that the survivors are in danger of being forgotten. Their number is usually stated as twenty three. Dr. Busteed mentions a few, but nowhere gives a list. Those named by him are John Zephaniah Holwell, Richard Court, John Burdett, Ensign James Walcot, Secretary Cooke, Henry Lushington, John Mills, Mrs. Mary Carey, two mariners Dickson and Moran, and another whose name in Mills' notes is said to be illegible. Thus only ten of the twenty-three are named. Mills' own list which is slightly fuller is given by Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-1757*: p.43-44) and is as follows:

Page II. Amongst those that had escaped death in the Black Hole and came out alive were John Holwell, Esq., Governor, Court, Burdett, Walcott Ensign, who were taken away by the Nabob's party and put into irons both legs. Messrs. Cook, Lushington got down on board the ships, the rest remaining is Mr. Mills, Mr. Dickson, Patrick Moran, Thomas Meadows, John Angell, John Burgott, John Arnd, John Jones, Philip Cosall, Peter Thomas, John Gatliff, Peter Boirs, Bernard Clelling, Richard Aillery, all that escaped the terrible dungeon.

Twenty are thus accounted for. The name of Mrs. Carey, it will be observed, is omitted. But Orme distinctly speaks of one woman, "the only one of her sex among the sufferers": and as we shall see later, we have Mrs. Carey's own testimony on the subject.

Of the survivors Holwell died at Pinner near Harrow on November 5, 1798, aged eighty-seven: Lushington "at length oppressed with Numbers greatly fell" (as the inscription of Eastbourne Parish Church testifies) in the Patna massacre in 1763: Court, who was a senior merchant and whose house was bought "for holding the Council" was drowned in the Ganges in May 1758: and Mrs. Carey, wife of Peter Carey, mariner, died in Calcutta on March 28, 1801, aged sixty, and is buried in the Moorghiatta Churchyard. Captain Mills died on August 31, 1811, at Camden Town, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. (1). Cooke became a member of Council for "behaving well" and gave evidence in England before the Parliamentary Committee of 1772. Walcot died at Fulta in the autumn of 1758.

(1) See the article by Mr. S. Charles Hill in Vol. XXVII of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 14-20) where a portion of the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 11, 1811 (p. 289) is quoted on page 18. The conclusion is omitted, and I venture to supply it. "The humanity of this gentleman in relinquishing his station next the window in the fatal dungeon above-named, to Mr. Holwell, is recorded by Mr. Orme in his account of our military operations in India, Mr. Mills married the celebrated Mrs. Vincent, the singer, of whom Churchill in his *Roseiad* says:

"Nature through her is by reflection shewn
Whilst GAY once more knows POLLY for his own."



COAT OF ARMS GRANTED TO HOLWELL BY
THE COLLEGE OF HERALDS IN 1762.



MRS. MARY CAREY

From the portrait on the lid of a Snuff Box once used by
Warren Hastings and now in the Victoria

I am glad to be able to add two other names to the list. Under the "Domestic Occurrences" in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1788 (Vol. 58, Part I, page 562) the death is recorded of "Captain Pigot of Compton Chamberlain Wilts, one of the twenty-three persons who providentially escaped the fate of their fellow prisoners, suffocated in the Black Hole at Calcutta, in 1756: of whom, except Governor Holwell, he has not, we believe, left a survivor."

The statement is not accurate, for mention is made of yet another survivor in the "East Indian Chronologist" which was published at the Harkaru Press in Calcutta in 1801, and was compiled by John Hawkesworth, as Mr. Oldham has discovered for us (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI. pp. 3-13):

1798. January 3rd. Died Mr. John Roop, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, not named by Mr. Holwell. (2). He was the oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, having resided there fifty-one years. He came to Calcutta in a Dutch ship in the year 1746, and consequently witnessed what has been seen by but few European eyes, viz., Calcutta in her insignificance—Calcutta in her deep distress—Calcutta smiling under her diadem and advancing to the pinnacle of glory.—"H".

On November 5, 1798, (the date of the death of Holwell) we find another entry:

It is remarkable that the survivors from the Black Hole were long-lived, or at least survived many years after that calamity. That truly horrid prison remains to this day. The Europe papers of this date stated that Mr. Burdet of Tut'on, near Southampton, and Mr. Holwell were the only remaining survivors from the Black Hole: but we, in Calcutta, know that Mrs. Carey was yet alive. . . . "H".

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 29, 811 (p. 285) when noticing the death of Mills gives the following particulars regarding Burdett which prove that he was then still alive.

This gentleman (Mills) was supposed to have been the only survivor of the prisoners who were immured in what was called the Black Hole at Calcutta but this is not exactly correct; Mr. Burdatt, late of Ealing but now a resident at Southampton, is still in existence and consequently the last survivor of those who escaped from this barbarous act of Asiatic tyranny.

There is reason also to believe that Burdett is the individual alluded to in a letter published in the *London Standard* of January 21, 1889, and quoted by Dr. Busted in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. The assertion is there made that in the year 1840 there was living in the neighbourhood of Hastings a man of about one hundred years old "who had been one of those thrust into the Black Hole of Calcutta." Burdett arrived in India to take up his writership on August 4, 1755, and if he was then sixteen (as is most probable) this would place the date of his birth in 1739. He was sent up to Moorshedabad with

(2) The name of Roop is mentioned by Hill (*Bengal in 1756-1757* Vol. I, p. xciii but not that of Pigot.

Holwell, Ensign Walcot and Richard Court: and was dismissed the service in 1765 for his opposition to Clive's administrative reforms.

Is it not possible, by reference to the original records in Calcutta or at the India Office, to complete the roll-call? It has always seemed to me that the twenty-three who came out alive, are even more worthy of commendation than the sufferers.

"That truly horrid prison remains to this day: "wrote Hawkesworth in November, 1789. Another "Asiaticus" contributed the following letter some fifteen years later to the *Asiatic Journal* (3):

The formidable Black Hole is now no more. Early in the year 1812 I visited it. It was situated in the old fort of Calcutta, and was then on the eve of demolition. Since that time the fort has come down, and on its site have been erected some extensive warehouses for the Company. I recollect forming one of the party in Calcutta, for the purpose of paying a last visit to the melancholy spot. It consisted of three married ladies, two gentlemen, their husbands, and myself. The ladies were successful, by noise and laughter, in dissipating gloomy recollection; but I had been better pleased had they suffered us to recall in some degree to our minds, those events connected with the spot on which we stood. It presented, on entering, the appearance of an oven; being long, dark and narrow. One window (if I recollect right) was the utmost, and this secured by bars. The escape of even the smaller number who survived the horrid fate of the rest, is surprising, and can only be accounted for by the accident of their being near the window, and the night air, which in Bengal is commonly damp, allaying the fever which consumed the rest. Perhaps, too, the pungent effluvia of the dead bodies which on all sides surrounded them, may have possessed on the atmosphere, in some slight degree, the effects of vinegar; thus converting what at the moment must have appeared the most dreadful of evils, into a security for those who outlived the night. To the right of the Writer's Building a monument is erected, with an inscription commemorating the barbarity of the Nuwab. It serves as the first attraction to a stranger arriving in Calcutta; and he pauses with no little exultation, to review in his mind the astonishing events which, in no short a space of time, have succeeded this wanton act of power; events which have secured to us an empire second in riches to none in the world, and which have placed at our disposal the lives of millions of fellow-creatures.

A word or two may be added on the subject of Mrs. Carey. The announcement of her death may likewise be found in the "East India Chronologist:"

1801. March the 28th. Died Mrs. Carey, one of the survivors from the horrors of the Black Hole. . . . Mrs. Carey was a native lady, married to a Naval Officer, who was suffocated in that fatal prison.

(3) Higginbotham's Selections from the *Asiatic Journal* (Madras, 1875: p. 77).

Mr. Holwell informs us she was then in the bloom of youth and beauty, which caused her detention, and when the other prisoners were liberated, this charming weeping captive was led to grace the zenana of the General, Meer Jaffier, from whence she shortly afterwards escaped to Calcutta and the protection of the re-instated English.

Mrs. Carey was living in Portuguese Church Street, when Mr. Thomas Boileau and Mr. Charles Child visited her on August 13, 1799 (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, page 220 where the note recorded by Boileau on the occasion is set out in full). She was certainly a lady with some pretension to good looks, if justice is done to her by the portrait on the lid of a snuff box which was once used by Warren Hastings and is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection: but it is extremely doubtful whether she suffered the fate here assigned to her. The authorities for the story are quoted by Dr. Busteed. Holwell says vaguely that "the rest who survived the fatal night gained their liberty except Mrs. Carey, who was too young and handsome." (She was sixteen at the time.) Orme asserts that she became the prize of Meer Jaffer, and Macaulay has it that she was sent up to Seraj-ud-Dowla's zenana at Moorshedabad. So too Jean Law, the chief of the French factory at Cossimbazar, writing about the year 1763, mentions a woman survivor who was placed in the Nawab's harem. "She was, I believe, the wife of one of the Ganges pilots." Dr. Busteed however maintains that she was not carried off by the Moors at all and bases his opinion on statements made to him by a near connection by marriage of a direct lineal descendant of Mrs. Carey. She probably found her way to Cooly Bazar, where the ships were still in sight: and it is noticeable that the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* states distinctly that soon after Drake's flight some English women fell in the hands of Mirza Emir Beg, an officer attached to one of the Nawab's generals, who treated them with every consideration and sent them by boat to the ship upon which Drake had taken refuge. According to Dr. Busteed, Mrs. Carey married again (4), her second husband being a field officer in the army, by whom she had two sons and a daughter: resuming her first husband's name later in life.

The death of Mrs. Carey is thus recorded in the Calcutta Gazette of April 2, 1801: "Death, on Saturday last (March 28) Mrs. Carey." This extract is not included in Seton-Kerr's Selections. In the Roman Catholic Cathedral burial register the entry, which is in Portuguese, runs as follows:—"28 Marco de 1801. Faliceo Maria Carry (sic) foy serno adro de Igreja com accompanhamto: de l Padre." The foregoing may be freely translated thus:—"28 March 1801. Died Mary Carey; was buried in the Churchyard, with the accompaniment of one priest." A tablet was placed in 1907, by the Government of Bengal, at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society, on the wall of the

(4) There is a gap in the Calcutta marriage registers between 1754 and 1759. Peter Carey, Mariner, and "Mary, a country woman" were married on January 15, 1754.

Catholic Male Orphanage Schoolroom at Murgihatta, to mark the site of her grave, which was discovered through the exertions of the late Mr. E. W. Madge. The inscription is as follows (5).

" Near this Tablet
Were Interred the Remains of
Mrs. Mary Carey.
Wife of Peter Carey, Mariner.

With her husband, mother, sister, and other prisoners she had, on the night of June 20, 1756, been confined in the Black Hole Prison. She survived the tragedy, and of its survivors, was the last to die in India.

Mrs. Carey Departed This Life
At Calcutta, on Saturday, March 28, 1801.
Aged 60 Years.

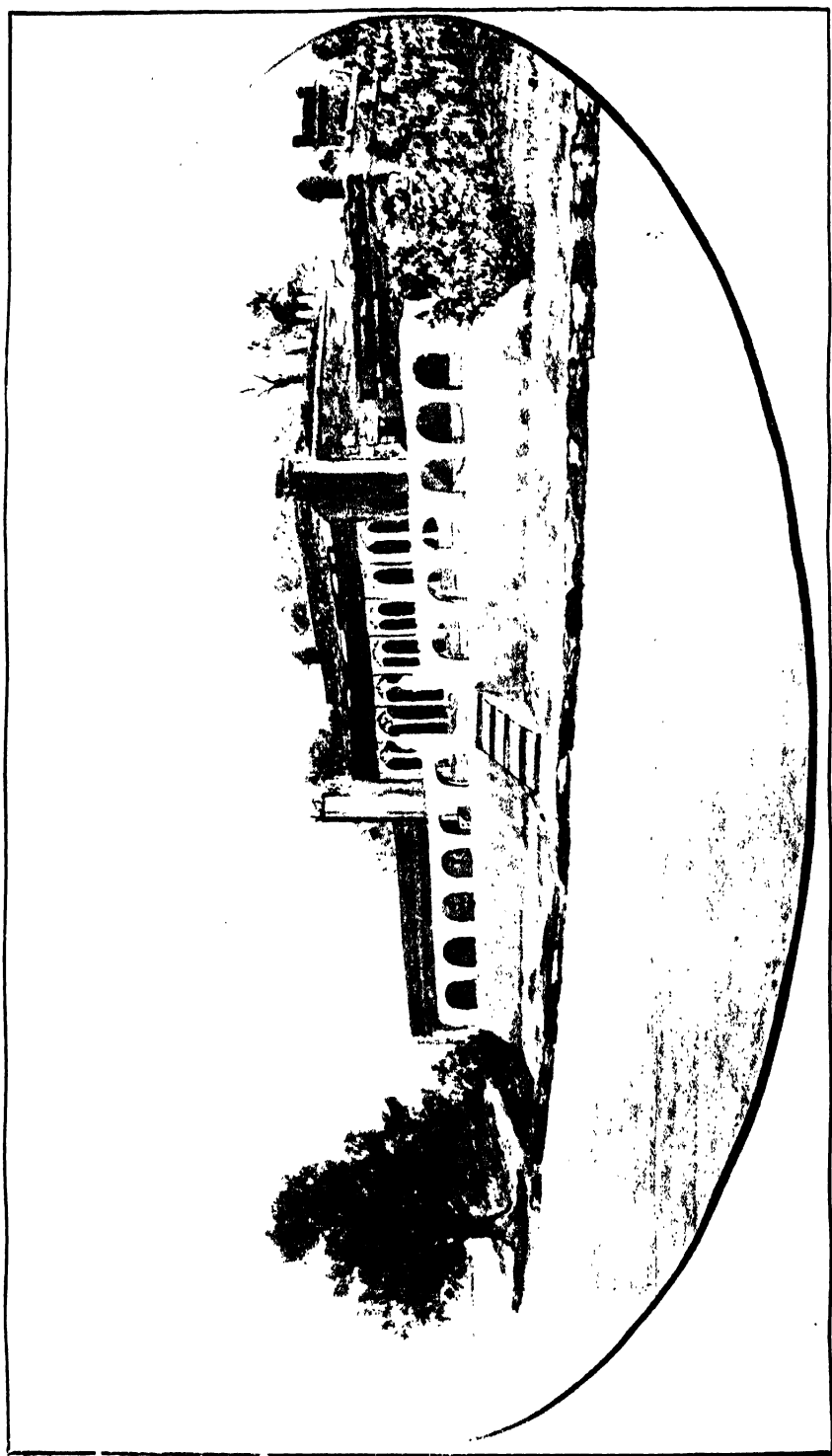
This tablet has been erected
by
The Government of Bengal
At the Instance of
The Calcutta Historical Society.
1907."

To those who are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the Black Hole tragedy, a study may be recommended of the coat of arms which granted to Holwell by the College of Heralds in 1762. A copy of the coat with the petition and the grant, was obtained by Dr. Busteed, from the Somerset Herald in 1909 and presented by him to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall where it may be seen in the gallery adjoining the Calcutta Room. The petition (wrote Dr. Busteed) follows fairly closely the facts of the tragedy as given in Holwell's narrative and states that "he is returned to spend the rest of his days in his Native country and thinks it a duty he owes to the memory of his ancestors, and to his posterity that his services with his pedigree may be recorded in the Heralds College." It was asked (and granted) that the arms might bear some allusion to his deliverance from the Black Hole prison at Calcutta. Accordingly the new arms come to be thus described in heraldic language :

Or on a Bend Gules three goats passant Argent attired and unguled of the field; on a canton sinister sable a human skull proper, with this motto *Miserrima Vidi*. And for the crest on a wreath of the colours a demi man representing Suraj ud Dowla, Subah of Bengal, in his compleat dress, the left hand resting on the head of a Tyger inspired with fury, the right grasping a scymitar in attitude of striking, the blade broken. All proper and over it this motto *Scuto Divino*.

A photograph of the coat of arms was given in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1909 (Vol. III, p. 342) and I have persuaded the Editor to reproduce it again in connection with this paper.

JULIAN JAMES COTTON.



THE NABOB'S HUNTING HOUSE AT PLASSEY : 1801.
From a Water Colour Sketch by James Hunter.

A Memory of Plassey.

WE are enabled, by the kindness of Mr. W. P. Harris, to present on the opposite page a reproduction of an original and hitherto unpublished water-colour sketch, drawn by James Hunter in 1801, of the Nawab's hunting-lodge at Plassey.

This historic building is thus described by Thomas Twining who visited the field of battle in July, 1794, when on his way by river up-country with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Abercromby (*Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 95-96):

As we were now approaching Plassey, only ten coss from Cutwa, the General and his suite were impatient to visit the spot famous above every other in the military annals of British India. Early in the morning we came within sight of the Plassey Grave, the famous wood near the eastern bank of the river which had covered the rear of the British lines, and brought to opposite its north-western angle close to the remains of the Nabob's hunting-pavilion, for the Ganges had since washed away a part of this celebrated memorial.

The mango tope or grove of Plassey in which Clive took up his position, was situated little more than a mile from the Nawab's intrenched camp. It was about 800 yards in length and 300 in breadth, the trees being planted in regular rows. All round it was a bank of earth, which afforded a good breast work for the troops, and there was also a ditch beyond, but this was choked up with weeds and brambles. The position of the tope was diagonal to the river, the north-west angle little more than 50 yards from the bank, whilst at the south-west corner it was upwards of 200 yards distant. A little in advance, on the bank of the river, stood a hunting house belonging to the Nawab, surrounded by a wall of masonry. On arrival during the night, Clive stationed a party of 200 Europeans and 300 Sipahis, with two field pieces, in this building, but in the morning he withdrew the greater part, leaving, however, a sufficient guard for the defence of the place.

Clive watched the enemy's dispositions from the top of the hunting house. Though astonished at their numbers and apparent confidence, he considered it advisable to move his troops from their sheltered position in the grove, as their remaining there might have been attributed to timidity, which would have only rendered the enemy bolder and more enterprising. He accordingly drew them up in line in front of the grove, their left resting on the hunting house.

After the battle was over, Clive returned to the building and seating himself in a chair, seemed absorbed in profound meditation. From the circumstance of his taking out his pen knife and cutting the word "Clive" upon the arm of the chair, it may be surmised (says Twining) that his own personal fame was not altogether absent from his thoughts.

Both the hunting-lodge and the mango tope have now disappeared. So also have the brick kilns which were Clive's advanced posts.

Pages from the Past.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

THE following documents have been transcribed from the Records in the possession of the Government of India.

The first formally announces the arrival of the three members of the Supreme Council appointed under the provisions of the Act of 1773: (Public Proceedings Oct. 1774. O.C. 17th Oct: No. 1 a)

On board the Earl of Ashburnham
Kedgerie 14th October 1774.

Gentlemen,

An Act of Parliament having been passed in the year 1773 "for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe,"—by which Act we are appointed Councillors for the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, we take the earliest Opportunity of informing you of our Arrival here this day, and that it is our Intention to proceed without delay to Fort William.

We have the honour to be
Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble Servants

J. Clavering
Geo: Monson
P. Francis

Honourable the President and
Council of Fort William.

The Governor and Council were however before hand. We find the following draft letter of welcome in the Proceedings of October 3 (Public Proceedings Oct. 1774. O.C. October 3, 1774. No. 3.):

"To

Lieut. General John Clavering
The Hon'ble George Monson
& Philip Francis Esqr.

Gentlemen,

This will be presented to you by Mr. Aldersey the Senior Member of our Board whom we have deputed to wait on you with our compliments and congratulations on your arrival in the River, and to conduct you to Calcutta. He

On board the *Harland Schooner.*
 16th October 1774

Gentlemen.

We have the honour to acknowledge
 the Receipt of Your Letter of the 3rd instant,
 which has been delivered to us this —
 Evening by M^r. Aldersey. We are sensible of
 Your great Politeness and Attention to us, in
 deputed the Senior Member of Your Board
 at the Presidency to meet us on our Arrival
 in the River, and we beg Leave to return
 You our sincere Thanks for the Care You
 have been pleased to take of our Accom-
 :modation, in ordering the Company's
 Sloops to attend us.

In a Day or two, we hope to be
 able to assure You more particularly
 of the Regard and Esteem, with which
 We have the Honour to be
 Gentlemen,
 Your most obedient and most
 humble Servants.

Honble the President and
 Council at Fort William

Flouring
 Jas. Monro
 Francis.

is further instructed to offer you every assistance which he can command to facilitate your journey thither."

The draft is endorsed "The same to the Judges, *mutatis mutandis*, viz., to Sir Elijah Impey, Robert Chambers, Stephen Caesar Lemaistre, John Hyde, Esquires."

The Governor's welcome was acknowledged as follows: (Public Proceedings: Oct. 1774. O.C. October 17th No. 2. a)

"On board the Harland Schooner, Oct: 16th 1774.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst. which has been delivered to us this evening by Mr. Aldersey. We are sensible of your politeness and attention to us in deputing the Senior Member of your Board at the Presidency to meet us on our arrival in the River, and we beg leave to return you our sincere thanks for the care you have been pleased to take of our accomodation in ordering the Company's sloops to attend us. In a day or two we hope to be able to assure you more particularly of the regard and esteem with which we have the honour to be

Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and
most humble servants,
John Clavering
Geo. Monson
P. Francis.

Our next document is a letter from Commodore Sir Edw. Hughes acknowledging the Governor and Council's congratulations on his appointment as Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. (Public Proceedings August 1774. O. C. 29th August No. 11. 1774.)

Sir Edward Hughes will always be famous in British naval annals for his five indecisive actions fought with the ablest Admiral that France ever produced—Suffren.

The actions were fought in 1781 and 1782, and can be read in detail in the XIIth chapter of Mahan's "Influence of Sea Power on History." Each of "these two redoubtable champions," says Admiral Mahan, "was curiously representative of the characteristics of his race,—the one of the stubborn tenacity and seamanship of the English, the other of the ardour and tactical science of the French." Admiral Mahan further describes Sir Edward Hughes as an officer "continually showing the aptitudes, habits of thought and foresight of a skilful seaman, as well as a courage beyond all proof. He was in truth an admirable representative of the average English naval officer of the middle of the 18th century." Admiral Mahan also notes the different provision made for the two admirals by their respective Governments. "Hughes found at Madras spars, cordage, stores, provision material. Suffren at Cud-

dalore found nothing." Perhaps no more important episode in the duel between England and France for supremacy in India exists than that stubborn struggle for command of the East India Seas. Its bearing on history cannot be overestimated; yet it is ignored entirely in almost all the text books that propose to teach the history of the British in India. No statue, as far as I know, has ever been erected by the British either in or out of India to the Naval officer whose unflinching determination shielded the British possession in India from their greatest danger. It is the old story: the actions were fought "out of sight" (as it were) of London. Hughes' reward consisted in the phenomenal amount of prize money which fell to his share, and gave him eventually an income of over £40,000, sterling. This was inherited by his nephew Ball Hughes (Golden Ball) who figures so prominently in Gronow's Memoirs. The letter is as follows:

"Salisbury in Madras Roads.
August 7th 1774.

Sir and Gentlemen,

Rear Admiral Sir Robert Harland sailed for England the 26th of last month with such part of his squadron as were ready. I have the honour to be appointed Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships employed in the East Indies and do assure you that in the course of my command it will be my study to cultivate on all occasions a good understanding and confidential communication with you as well as with the other Presidencies and Servants of the Hon'ble East India Company, assisting and protecting their settlements and trade with that cordiality and concert so necessary for the public good; in the performance of which services I rest myself highly assured of being heartily joined by you. I have only to add that I am with much esteem, Sir and Gentlemen.

Your most obedient humble servant
Edwd. Hughes.

Warren Hastings Esqr.
President & Council,

Our fifth excerpt is taken from Public Proceedings, 1774. O.C. March 3rd No. 12 and contains numerous signatures of well-known Calcutta inhabitants of the time.

To the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, and the Members of the Council at Bengal.

December 6th 1773.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

In obedience to the Commands of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors The Revrd. Mr. Thomas Yate being now about to quit Bengal in order to return

to England to the great regret of us the inhabitants of this country whose names are hereunto subscribed. Our concern in being deprived of the converse and society of a clergyman whose amiable character, exemplary conduct and in-offensive behaviour render him a valuable acquisition to the Community, add to this, the obligations which we consider ourselves under to him for yielding to the general requests of the Settlement, in staying amongst us at a time there was no other regular minister in Bengal capable of performing ecclesiastical duty, has emboldened us to an address we hope you will pardon as it by no means proceeds from any prejudice or dislike to our present pastors, but merely from a sense of respect and regard to Mr. Yate confirmed by his residence in Calcutta for upwards of five years last past. We therefore take the liberty to intreat you to intercede with the Hon'ble Court in favour of Mr. Yate that he may return again to Bengal as soon as the convenience of his private affairs will admit when we have agreed to contribute to his decent subsistence and support free of every expense to the Hon'ble Company. It would also be the gratification of our earnest wishes if the Hon'ble Court could be inducted to insure him the reversion of the [illegible] Chaplainship vacant at Fort William, or the appointment of Chaplain to one of the Brigades of the Army, if such an appointment should be thought eligible, until a vacancy happens on the Civil Establishment.

We have the honour to be with the greatest deference and respect, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs

Your most humble and obedient Servants,

W. Maxwell	John Cotton
P. M. Lethieullier	Charles Croftes
C. S. Playdell	G. Wright
Alex. Higginson	James Chown
N. Grueber	R. Roberts
John Robinson	A. Macpherson
Gilbt. Ironside	Mathw. Leslie
W. Cottrell	E. Stephenson
Jacob Rider	John Green
Hugh Inglis	J. White
Robt. Patton	Thos. Deane Pearse
H. Vansittart	James Irwin
Robert Sanderson	W. Bensley
T. Hancock	Wm. Wallar
A. L. Cobham	Robert Holford
(Illegible)	Cudbert Thornhill
? Forham	(Illegible)
G. G. Ducarel	Lyde Goodwin
Nathaniel Brassey Halhed	C. W. Boughton Rous
J. Hogarth	R. F. Cholmondeley

Wm. Cooper	Richd. Gosling
(Illegible)	Wm. Swainston
Rich. Johnson	John Fenwick
L. Darell	E. Fenwick
Edw. Smith	John Hannay
F. Holmes	T. P. Broughton
John Sumner	Joseph Price
Nathl. Bateman	Chas. Seeley
Saml. Charters	Thos. Norris
Hopkin Walters	Wm. Cotes
John Prinsep	Jas. Lillyman
H. Grant	Thos. Sheels
Saml. Touchet	John Bristow
Wm. Rooke	Matthw. Day
Ar. Hesilrige	Dan Campbell
John Sykes (this name was erased after signature)	James Ellers (?)
F. Chollet	Geo. Cuming
J. H. Guinaud	(Illegible)
S. Montaignet	
H. Palmer	
David Vander Huyden	

The familiar name of the husband of "Begum Johnson" will be found in the following extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council, March 11th 1777.

" Read the following letter from the Revnd. Mr. Johnson.

Calcutta, March 11th 1777.

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

The countenance and support always shown by your Hon'ble Board to projects which tend to the publick benefit encourage me to lay the following proposal with an accompanying plan before you; the obvious utility of which I flatter myself will be deemed worthy your attention.

The general complaint of merchants and others residing in Calcutta as well as of those trading thereto of the want of a sufficient proper grant for landing their goods and merchandize imported to this place is so well known and acknowledged that it is needless for me to enlarge on the subject. I shall therefore, after remarking that there is not at this time one public gaut in Calcutta which can commodiously land the hundredth part of the great variety of goods continually arriving in that expeditious and safe manner the quality of many of the articles requires, and that a gaut or landing place calculated to remedy these inconveniences should for the public advantage be as

central as possible, beg leave to over to your Hon'ble Board an undertaking which has long been ardently wished for by all merchants and others at all concerned in the navigation of the River Hughley.

I would propose at my own expense making an ample and commodious landing place, agreeable to the accompanying plans, and to keep it constantly in thorough repair for public use; and in order to carry this scheme into execution I have to solicit of your Hon'ble Board a grant of the waste land laying between my house and the Old Fort, with permission to erect on that side next the river a range of godowns, and to rail in the whole, being about 120 yards in length and 100 yards in breadth, with posts and chains, having a road to the Old Fort forty feet in breadth and another Road of fifty feet opposite the Gaut.

I need not add that your concurrence in this proposal will be attended with the greatest advantage to the Town in general, be an ornament to that place and a lasting mark of your attention to the public good.

I am, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Sd) William Johnson.

Board's resolution thereon, the whole Council being present.

The Board approve the proposal and agree to make a grant of the ground in question for the purposes described in Mr. Johnson's letter, with this additional condition, that the ground to be kept vacant, viz. to the space bounded by the high road on the East, by the wall of Mr. Johnson's garden on the North, by the new range of go-downs on the West and by the Old Fort on the South, shall not be employed for any purpose whatsoever whether for erecting buildings, or for the receipt of rubbish, lumber, or effects of any kind, but that it shall be kept entirely free and open at the sole charge and risk of the grantee, his heirs, executors and assigns, and that on failure of this condition the Governor and Council shall be at liberty to stop up the passage, and resume the possession of the whole ground.

The last paper (C.C.P. 23rd May, 1777) is a petition submitted by Mr. John Prinsep together with one to establish a bazar near "his Chintz manufacture" at Pultah.

Rates at the Ferry between Pultah and Ghyretty across the River Hooghly most humbly submitted for conformation to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esquire and Supreme Council of Revenue.

A single passenger in the common open boats—ten gundas Sicca.

A gentleman in the covered Paunsway and his train not exceeding six persons—one rupee.

A Palanquin and six bearers—eight annas.

A hackney, bullocks and drivers—eight annas.

Buggey, sice and horse—one rupee.

Chaise and pair, postillion and sices—one rupee and eight annas.

Dooley and four persons—four annas.

Single bullock—two annas.

Tattoo and sice—two annas.

Camel and driver—twelve annas.

One cooly load of merchandize—one anna.

Small hand parcels—toll free, as likewise, greens fish and fruit if under a Cooley load.

The Governor General and Council consented. A similar request to establish a ferry & levy tolls at the same rate "within the limits of Calcutta, that is from Kidderpore to Baug Bazar" was put forward by and granted to Mr. Richard Summer. (30th May, 1777 C.C.P.),

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

The Indian Historical Records Commission.

SEVENTH SESSION AT POONA.

THE Indian Historical Records Commission, with whose activities readers of "Bengal : Past and Present" are, I hope, by now familiar, held its seventh session at Poona, the administrative centre of the once Great Maharastra Empire, and the scene of many stirring episodes in the annals of the Mahrattas, in January last. Of little consequence under the early Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan, Poona gradually grew in importance under the Kings of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, and later, in the time of Sivaji, in the 17th century, formed a military centre of no mean strategic value, daring even to defy the Great Moghul, Aurangzeb. This city in the Bombay Presidency naturally supplies ample materials for research to the students of history. It was thus in the fitness of things, that the Indian Historical Records Commission, should select Poona, in the eloquent words of His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson, "to assemble and to honour the Muse of History".

On the 12th January, the meeting of the Commission was held in the Council Hall, under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Sir Evan Cotton, Kt., C.I.E. In proposing Sir Evan Cotton to the chair, in the absence of the permanent President, who was unavoidably detained at Delhi, the Secretary to the Commission congratulated him, on behalf of the Commission, on the Knighthood which had been conferred upon him by His Majesty the King Emperor. Sir Evan Cotton, after expressing his thanks, called upon the Hon'ble Mr. Jadhav, Minister of Education, Bombay, to read the Message of Welcome, sent by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay. The message welcomed the Commission to the capital of Maharashtra, and expressed His Excellency's regret that owing to several important engagements in Bombay, he could not come to Poona to open the proceedings. After outlining the roll of honour in the realm of history, in the Presidency, His Excellency's message went on to allude to the measures taken by the Bombay Government, to arrange and classify the historical records in their custody, and the steps taken to make them accessible to students of history. It referred, in praiseworthy terms, to the revival of interest in Indian history, evidenced by the fact that more attention was being paid to the original Records of the Peshwas' administration, which had been examined by competent Mahratta scholars. Regarding the examination of the Poona Daftar, the message assured the Commission that any concrete proposals on the subject will receive the Government of Bombay's careful consideration, and provided the expenditure is kept within reasonable limits, every effort will be made to meet the demand. After the message of His Excellency had been delivered, several important papers on historical subjects were read.

THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR.

Principal H. G. Rawlinson and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis described in their papers the actual contents of the Poona Daftar. The Daftar has gone through many vicissitudes, having stood the test of war, fire, plunder, white ants and monsoons; and yet we have in the Alienation Office in Poona tolerably complete records of all the details of the receipts and expenditure of the revenues of the Maratha Empire from 1729 to 1757. Some idea of the extent of this valuable repository of documents can be had from the information given by Professor Rawlinson that there are 27,070 *rumals* of official papers, a *rumal* being a bundle of from 500 to 2,000 documents. The Peshwa's Daftar alone consists of 780 *rumals* of Diaries, 608 *rumals* of Chadnis, 5,227 *rumals* of revenue demands and a very large number of miscellaneous papers. Research among these papers has given some very interesting details of the economic life of the Peshwas, such as the fact that whereas the Peshwa spent nearly eighty lakhs on his Army every year, he hardly allowed four thousand rupees for his navy. The salaries of his military commanders cost him another two lakhs, the upkeep of his forts a further eleven lakhs, and the expense of his artillery about three lakhs. It also shows that the gross revenue of a Particular year was Rs. 2,31,09,067, with an expenditure of Rs. 2,05,94,295.

The most important and voluminous section of the Daftar is perhaps the Peshwa's Diary, or Head-quarter Day Book, which has recorded therein everything of minor or major importance that occurred, from cash orders on the Treasury to a duplicate of all departmental orders. It is, indeed, nought but a very elaborate Government Gazette. The Daftar also contains a large number of Chitnisi letter, or correspondence received and filed in the Peshwa Secretariat, selections from which were read to the Commission by Rao Bahadur Parasnis. Then there is the Raja of Satara's official diary, giving local information from 1703 to 1818. Great importance is attached to the records of the Poona Residency, which consist of the files of inward and outward correspondence between the successive Residents of Poona and the Government of Bombay, and which fortunately escaped destruction when the Sangam was burned by the Mahrattas on the eve of the Battle of Kirkee.

In closing his most interesting paper, Professor Rawlinson expressed the hope that the Commission would make some concrete proposals to Government on the vexed question of the cataloguing and indexing of this wealth of matter, although he also admitted that if a staff of clerks and indexers worked on the Peshwa's Daftar alone, and handled two *rumals* a day—which would be a very stiff task—and worked 300 days a year, it would take them twenty years to complete their task, which would still leave more than half of the documents unindexed. Nevertheless, he hoped that something could be done.

Sir Evan Cotton, in a very interesting paper narrated the story of four civilians, who were imported from Madras to Calcutta, by Clive, to act as members of Council, and of the great heartburning which was thereby caused among the officers of the Company in Bengal. The account was based on passages from the Diary of Colonel Alexander Champion,

The paper by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., on the present condition and distribution of historical records relating to Northern India (1770-1817) referred to the collections of state papers lying in the archives of Jaipur and Udaipur and to the records of the Peshwas in the Poona Alienation office.

Bussy's letter to Marechal de Castries, dated the 3rd March 1784 from Pondicherry formed the subject of a paper read by Monsieur Singaravelou. It contained a long list of complaints from Count de Lally on the manner in which his party and himself had been treated by Tipoo. A memorial to Marechal de Castries containing particulars about the state of the Mogul Empire, Hindu princes and Maharattas is to be found in this paper.

The Bakhair of Ramaraja by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, M.A., Ph. D., of Madras was a critical representation of a document bearing this title purporting to have been written by one Ramji Tirumal (clearly a Mahratta name) who was in attendance at the court of Vijayanagar on the eve of the battle of Talikota. He was probably an agent of one of the subordinate states of the Empire attached to the Imperial Head quarters. The document which is written in Kanarese conveys information of transactions leading to the battle of Talikota. It describes the battle in circumstantial detail and concludes with a recital of the events which followed the defeat of the Hindu Empire.

The Magna Charta of English trade in India by Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Principal of the Kolhapur College narrated the privileges possessed by the English at the dawn of the 18th century and specially referred to the petition of the East India Company for remedying their commercial grievances. It also dealt with Surman's Embassy to the Court of Farrukhsiyar, its significance and after effects. The writer reproduced in his paper a copy of the *Farman* in Persian, the original of which is preserved in the India Office.

Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham's paper on the "Settlement of Land Revenue in Bengal prior to 1786" went to show that the idea of a permanent settlement of the Land Revenue of Bengal which was brought into prominence in 1776 and is generally thought to be the product of the political intuition of Sir Philip Francis was really the result of suggestions made by district officers, the men on the spot, long before Francis appeared on the scene. The writer paid the following remarkable tribute to that much-maligned official, the European District Officer of the East India Company :—"The deeper the study of the land revenue records of that period, the more convincing is the proof that the European District Officer lacked neither humanity nor administrative ability. Of the remedies adopted by the central Government, those that proved to be beneficial were, almost without exception, the result of suggestions and advice received from experienced district officers of the Company. The chief flaws which remained in the system of collecting the land revenue after the settlement had been declared permanent had been foreseen by the more experienced of the Company's Officers, and were embodied in the legislation against their advice. They were left to bear the burden of the mistakes which others had made and to see others assume the credit for measures which their knowledge of the country had suggested and their ability carried out."

The paper read by me on "The Silk Industry in Bengal" is reproduced elsewhere.

THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

The Historical Exhibition which was organised in connection with the Poona Session was most successful. A set of ancient weapons was sent by the chief of Sangli, which included a rifle eleven feet long and a gold and ivory pistol of historical interest. A number of paintings, manuscripts, and letters from Rao Bahadur Parasnis magnificent collection at Satara were on view. The special object of interest in this collection of exhibits was a wonderful album of portraits painted by Indian artists. There were valuable *Sanads*, *Firmans* and manuscripts from the collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, the Poona Itihasa Mandal and several private collections. The group portrait of the Peshwa Madhavrao with his Prime Minister Nana Farnavis on one side and General Mahadaji Sindia on the other, kindly lent by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, attracted much attention. Monsieur Singaravelou Poullé, Curator of French Historical Records attended the Commission, as the representative of the French Government in India, and enriched the Exhibition by a most valuable collection of French documents relating to the Mahratta period. The exhibits from the Imperial Record Department, and private collections in Calcutta were highly appreciated.

On the 13th January the Commission, at the members' meeting discussed various important matters, relating to the preservation, classification and publication of Indian Historical Records. In the afternoon the members paid a visit to the Peshwa's Daftar, the Bhandarkar Research Institute and the Bharat Itihasa Mandal, and inspected their collections of historical relics.

VISIT TO SATARA.

On the 14th January the members of the Commission paid a visit to Satara, as the guests of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. The Rao Bahadur's museum which consists of paintings, manuscripts and engravings of exceptional historical value, is undoubtedly one of the finest in India. The Commission also inspected the new building which the Government of Bombay has built at a cost of several lakhs of rupees, to house the collection. In the evening the visitors were entertained by the members of the Union Club of Satara and at the request of the members Prof. Jadunath Sarkar delivered a very illuminating lecture on the sources of Mahratta history. Next morning, the Palaces at Satara, and the hill-fort which has been the scene of many a stirring incident in the history of the Deccan were visited.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

Our Library Table.

Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report for 1921-1922: Edited by D. Brainerd Spooner, Ph. D. (Harvard), O.B.E., officiating Director-General. (Government of India Press, 1924: Rupees Twenty Four and Annas Eight).

The lamented death in February last of Dr. Spooner lends a melancholy interest to this record of archaeological activities. His loss will be severely felt by the department. Owing to the delay in publication, we are left without knowledge of the present condition of the monuments which received attention. But it is satisfactory to note that among these monuments were the Black Pagoda at Kanarak, which was becoming surrounded by sand heaps: and the Ras Mancha one of the finest of the group of temples at Vishnupur (Bishenpore). At Gaur the Gumti Gate and the Darasbari and Chamkatti mosques were being cleared of débris: and repairs were in progress in connection with the mosque at Katra near Moorshedabad, where Murshid Kuli Khan is buried. Mention is made of excavations at Tamluk, the ancient port of Bengal, at Unakoti hill in the Tripura State, where further colossal rock-cut sculptures have been brought to light, and at Paharpur in the Rajshahi district. Our readers will remember the article on the Buddhist relics at the place last named which was contributed by Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, C.I.E. to the twenty-fifth volume of *Bengal Past and Present*. The operations which should yield interesting results are being financed in part by Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya, of whom Dr. Spooner observe that "by his munificent donations and his active interest in archaeology he has set a rare example to his countrymen." The report is accompanied by a magnificent set of photogravures, which have been prepared at the offices of the Survey of India.

The Early History of India: from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the invasion of Alexander the Great: by Vincent A. Smith, C.I.E.: Fourth Edition: revised by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O. (Clarendon Press, Oxford: Sixteen Shillings net).

The publication in the year 1904 of the late Dr. Vincent Smith's standard work on the early history of India marks the commencement of an important epoch. That great scholar not only opened the door to a solution of many difficult and fascinating problems: he gave the necessary impetus to the formation of a school of Indian investigators, of the stamp of Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. It was largely on account of the labours

of these ardent and able Indologists that the third edition which was prepared in 1914 by Dr. Vincent Smith, contained so much new matter: and it is again as a result of their researches that the publication of a fourth edition has become necessary. The task of revision has devolved upon Mr. Edwardes, owing to the death of the learned author. He has had the advantage of consulting Dr. Smith's notes and has brought the book thoroughly up to date. An instance of this may be found in appendix O which deals with the origin and chronology of the Sena Dynasty in Bengal. In the third edition Dr. Smith declined to accept the view that there were two Lakshmana Senas and that the Lakshmana Sena of the inscriptions is to be distinguished from Rao Lakhmanya who was driven out of Nuddea about the year 1198 A.D. by Muhammad the son of Bakhtiar, as related in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. Both these propositions are now acknowledged to be correct. Mr. Edwardes has, however, not noticed the identification by Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra of the Sena capital with the ruins near Deopara in the district of Rajshahi. Substantial reasons have been given for this theory by Mr. Maitra (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII pp. 172-175).

*The Early History of Bengal: by F. J. Monahan: with a preface
by Sir John Woodroeff, B. C.L. (Clarendon Press, Oxford:
Fifteen Shillings net.)*

By the death on 20th November, 1923, of Mr. F. J. Monahan the Calcutta Historical Society was deprived of one of its most accomplished members. The subject in which he was particularly interested was the early history of Bengal: and in five articles, which appeared in *Bengal Past and Present*, during the years 1916-1918 (1) he dealt with the periods of the Gupta Empire and the Pala and Sena dynasties. In the present volume he breaks earlier ground and concentrates upon the Maurya period, which followed closely upon the invasion of Alexander in 327 B.C. The succeeding volumes, which he had in mind, would no doubt have been more directly concerned with what is known as Bengal proper. For there are no monuments of the Maurya period in Bengal: and Megasthenes did not proceed further south than Pataliputra. Scanty evidence regarding Bengal is forthcoming, therefore: and for the most part Mr. Monahan travels along the same road as Dr. Vincent Smith. Nine of the nineteen chapters are allotted to a careful and scholarly analysis of the Kautiliya Arthashastra: and four more to Greek testimony regarding Maurya institutions. It is reasonable to assume that conditions in Bengal approximated to those in Magadha. Nevertheless, this is at best conjecture. The volume is certainly complete in itself, but it is not so much a history of early Bengal as a history of the Maurya period. Very little, indeed, is known of Bengal

(1) *Bengal Past and Present*: Vol. XIII, pp. 44-60, 200-211: Vol. XIV, pp. 75-91: Vol. XV, pp. 25-30, 33-138.

before the eighth century A.D. Bengali tradition commemorates a King named Adisura who seems to have ruled over Gour and its neighbourhood and who brought five Brahmans and five Kayasths from Kanauj in order to revive orthodox Hindu customs: but no authentic account of Adisura is obtainable. The first firm foothold is the election about 730 or 740 A.D. of Gopala as King of Bengal, after a period of anarchy, and the foundation thereby of the Pala dynasty which reigned for four and a half centuries and made Bengal one of the great powers of India.

The Glories of Magadha: by J. N. Samaddar, Professor, Patna College : with a forward by Sir A. B. Keith, Regius Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Edinburgh. (Published by the Patna University: Rupees Five).

Professor Samaddar's book is a reprint of six lectures delivered by him in 1922 as Reader in the University of Patna. He has taken as his subjects the land of Magadha, its two ancient Capitals of Girivraja and Pataliputra, the Edicts of Asoka, and the vanished Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila. The term Magadha has been defined as comprising the region bounded on the North by the Ganges, on the West by the Sone, on the South by dense forests extending to the plateau of Chota Nagpur, and on the East by Anga (now represented by the modern district of Bhagalpur). The early capital, Girivraja, was near Rajgir in the Gaya hills: and Pataliputra which stood on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Sone and the Ganges, can be located with confidence on the site of Patna, although the confluence is now twelve miles higher up, near the Cantonment of Dinapore. Excavations by the Archaeological Department are proceeding at Nalanda the glories of which are represented by a line of lofty mounds lying about a mile from the Bargaon station on the Bihar-Bukhtiarpur Light Railway. The monastery of Vikramasila is believed to have been at Patharghata in the Bhagalpur district, but its position has not been conclusively determined. Upon all these topics Professor Samaddar discourses with erudition and enthusiasm.

British Beginnings in Western India: 1579-1657: by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., Principal of the Deccan College, Poona. (Clarendon Press Oxford: Ten Shillings and Six Pence).

Although this book is concerned with the early days of the British factory at Surat, its value as a picture of contemporary manners is undeniable. Moreover, it is at Surat that we can trace the beginnings of the British connection with India. When William Hawkins established a factory there in 1607, it was "a city of very great trade in all classes of merchandize." Five

years later, in 1612, Thomas Best drew up the thirteen "Articles of Trade" with the Governor of Ahmedabad. The first President was Thomas Kerridge, who was left in charge by Sir Thomas Roe when he sailed for England in 1619: and Surat remained the headquarters of the English Company until the Chief was transferred in 1687 to Bombay. In 1690—the year in which the English under Job Charnock occupied the deserted village of Chuttanuttee for the third and last time—"Suratt" according to Ovington, was still "reckon'd the most fam'd Emporium of the Indian Empire, where all commodities are, vendible: And the river is very commodious for the importation of Foreign Goods which are brought up to the city in Hoys and Yachts, and Country Boats." But the Tapti has silted up and the famous Swally Marine, or Swally Holo, where in 1727 "one season the English had eight good large ships riding" is now deserted, except for occasional country craft. The old Fort and the imposing tombs in the graveyard alone bear testimony to the past. Surat has been supplanted by Bombay of which the Abbe Raynal wrote in 1770: "No man chose to settle in a country so unhealthy as to give rise to the proverb that at Bombay a man's life did not exceed two monsoons." Principal Rawlinson's account ends with the renewal of the Company's charter by Cromwell in 1657. That was the beginning of the decline of Surat which the Maratha raids under Sivaji had shown to be radically unsafe as a base for trade. The Company began to look around them for an opportunity to make use of the right conferred upon them "to fortify and plant in any of their settlements and to transport thither colonists."

A History of the Indian Wars: by Clement Downing. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by William Foster, C.I.E. (Clarendon Press, Oxford: Seven Shillings and Six Pence net).

In 1737 there was printed in London for T. Cooper at the Globe in Paternoster Row, a little book entitled: "A Compendious/ History/ of the/ Indian Wars;/ with/ An account of the Rise, Progress,/Strength, and Forces of/ Angria the Pyrate./ Also/ The Transactions of a Squadron/ of Men of War under Commodore/ Mathews, sent to the East Indies to/ Suppress the Pyrates./ To which is annexed/ An Additional History of the Wars/ between the Great, Mogul, Angria, and/ his Allies./ With an Account of the Life and Actions of/ John Plantain, a notorious Pyrate/ at Madagascar: his Wars with the Natives/ on that Island, where having continued eight/ Years, he joined Angria, and was made his/ Chief Admiral." Much good reading, it will be seen, is foreshadowed by this lengthy title page: and, as the book has become scarce and can no longer be purchased at the price of Two Shillings and Six pence which Mr. T. Cooper was willing to accept for it, lovers of adventure will be grateful to Sir William Foster for this reprint as also for his illuminating and admirably written introduction. Clement Downing, the author was, according to his own description of himself, "Midship-

man on board the *Salisbury*: afterwards Lieutenant of the *Victory Frigate, Fame Gally*, and *Revenge Grab*, part of the Squadron employed by the East India Company to attack Angria: and sometime Engineer in the service of the Great Mogul." There is much about Bombay and the Western Coast in Downing's pages: but, unhappily, no description of Calcutta. Although Downing undoubtedly went to Bengal with Mathews' ships in June 1722, he contents himself with saying that it was "not a very likely place to find the Pyrates" of whom the Commodore was in search. There is however some compensation in an unexpected allusion to cricket. During a voyage from Surat to Cambay in 1721, Downing records (p. 185) that while waiting some thirty miles from the latter place for one of their party, "we every day diverted ourselves with playing at cricket and other exercises," although "we never venture to recreate ourselves in this Method without having Arms for ourselves and guarded by some of our Soldiers, lest the country should come down upon us." As long ago as 27th May, 1905, the late Mr. J. S. Cotton pointed out in a letter to the *Athenaeum* that this is the earliest known reference to cricket in India.

Letter Copy Book of the Supravisor of Rajshahi at Nator: Letters issued from 30th December, 1769, to 15th September, 1772. (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta: Rupees Five and Annas Eight).

The office of Supravisor was instituted on 16th August, 1769, by the Select Committee at Fort William under the Governorship of Henry Verelst who may be said to have been the first to visualize the conception of a District Officer. In May 1772 the designation of Collector was substituted: but the office was abolished under the orders of the Court of Directors, conveyed in their letter of 6th April, 1773. Charles William Boughton Rous was the Supravisor of Rajshahi whose letter copy book is here reprinted. The book was discovered in a mutilated condition in 1905 in the Nizamath Record Room at Berhampore, a circumstance which serves to remind us that the Resident at the Durbar at Moorshedabad was originally the principal revenue authority under the Governor and Council at Fort William. In July 1770 the Resident's functions in this respect were transferred to a Controlling Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, of which Richard Becher was chief, and the Naib Dewan, Muhammad Reza Khan, attended its meetings in an advisory capacity. When the Court of Directors decided in 28th August, 1771 "to stand forth as Dewan," a Committee of Circuit consisting of Warren Hastings as Governor and four others, were appointed to settle the land revenue of the various districts on the spot. In September, 1772, the Khalsa or Exchequer was transferred to Calcutta which became henceforward the centre of revenue control. Rous had seen only four years' service in Bengal at the time of his appointment to Nator: and he quickly came into conflict with Becher whose policy

it was to limit the duties of the Supravisors. His first letter, which is dated 30th December, 1769, assures Becher of his intention to pay "strict Adherence to your Commands" and to "regulate this Department up [on] the same plan as that you have adopted at Moorshedabad." On the 8th July, 1770 he noted that it had been "thought expedient to circumscribe the powers of his station" and observed that he could not help regarding the decision as a "severe and discouraging reflection." In the next letter (No. 16) of which the date has been lost, he expressed regret that "youth should be imputed a crime to me:" and thereafter his indignation simmers. This is the first publication of a Supravisor's records by the Bengal Record-room: and we hope it will be followed by others.

Hatim's Tales: by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., and Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., (Indian Texts Series: John Murray, London: Thirty Shillings).

Of the twelve tales in this book some are in prose and others in verse: while others are partly in prose and partly in verse, as is customary with Oriental folklore. They are told in the orthodox style, and most of them have been handed down from generation to generation of professional story-tellers—a race which has not yet become extinct in Kashmir. One of them by name Hatim Tilwon (whose portrait forms the frontispiece of the volume) was discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, and from his recitation and with the help of the famous scholar Pandit Govind Kaul (to whose memory a graceful tribute is paid in the preface) the materials for this work were put together. There is one notable exception, however: which is quite modern in character, "the Song of Forsyth Sahib when he went to conquer Yarkand." This relates to the mission of Sir Douglas Forsyth across the Hindu Kush to Kashgar in the year 1870: and though that mission had nothing to do with the conquering of Yarkand, the poet evidently takes it to be so and describes the events attending the impressment of camp-followers. It is well-known that in Bengal accounts of the Battle of Plassey and the achievements of the *Lal Paltan* used to be sung even down to the middle of the last century in places round about Murshidabad, but no serious attempt has yet been made to collect or edit them or present them to non-Bengali readers in a translated form.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE annual general meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Bengal Legislative Council Committee-room at the Town Hall on Tuesday, December 30, 1924.

On the motion of Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, and seconded by Mr. W. S. J. Willson, M.L.A., the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton was voted to the chair.

Mr. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, Secretary, read the annual report.

REPORT FOR 1924.

During the year under review the membership of the Society consisted of 17 life members and 175 ordinary members as against 177 during the previous year.

The balance at the bank up to date, as you will learn from the Financial Statement amounts to Rs. 1,020-7. Of this amount a sum of Rs. 1,000 which had been placed in fixed deposit for twelve months has been renewed for a further period of six months.

Thanks to the whole-hearted devotion of the Editor, the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, "Bengal: Past and Present" has been appearing regularly and every issue of this excellent quarterly has been a record number. A glance at the issues published during the year under report will show that a number of important historical contributions have been made. As before, the Editorial Committee will welcome contributions from members engaged in historical research. The Society was favoured in September with a long and appreciative notice of its work in the Times Literary Supplement which was reproduced in the October-December No. of "Bengal: Past and Present."

As announced at our last general meeting the work of indexing Volumes IX-XXIV, the absence of which has been seriously felt by all students of history, has been entrusted to some Assistants of the Imperial Record Department trained in this work. I am glad to report that half of the work has already been finished and it will take a few months more to complete it. The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following generous contributions to the Society's Index Fund:—

The Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan, Rs. 150; Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee and Sir Hariram Goenka, Rai Bahadur, Rs. 100; Lord Curzon of Kedleston (£5) Rs. 75; Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar, Raja Reshee Case Law, Mr. R. D. Mehta, Rai Promotha Nath Mullick Bahadur, Mr. A. W. Weddell (late Consul-General for the U. S. A.) Mr. S. C. Stuart Williams, Mr. D. C. Ghose, Rs. 50; Mr. William Foster (£2) Rs. 30; the Hon'ble Maharaja Kshaunish Chandra Roy Bahadur of Krishnagar, the Hon'ble Mr. T.

Emerson, Raja Mani Lal Singh Roy, Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, Rai Mani Lal Nahar Bahadur, Rai Lalit Mohan Singh Roy Bahadur, Mr. T. P. Ghose, Rs. 25; Sir Willoughby Carey, Rs. 20. Total Rs. 1,000.

I regret to report the death of several prominent members during the year under review. The Society has sustained a heavy and grievous loss by the death at the early age of forty-three of Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, who was accidentally drowned in February last when crossing the river from Chinsura to Naihati in a country-boat. Since the revival of the Society in December 1922, no one had more actively identified himself with the editorial management of "Bengal: Past and Present." In spite of his heavy official duties, he found time to contribute scholarly articles to the pages of our quarterly. His great talents and his business capacity were willingly placed at the disposal of the Society. His magnetic personality, his engaging manners, his remarkable gifts, and his almost boyish enthusiasm in the cause of historical research will long be gratefully remembered by those who had the pleasure and privilege of being associated with him in connection with the Calcutta Historical Society. In the following month we suffered another serious loss by the death, in Dublin, of one of our Vice-Presidents, Sir Walter Buchanan, K.C.I.E., I.M.S. (retired) formerly Inspector-General of Jails in Bengal. Up to the time of his retirement Sir Walter evinced unflagging interest in the Society and its journal, and valuable contributions from his pen will be found scattered through the pages of "Bengal: Past and Present." In May last death claimed a valued member of the Society, in the person of Sir Asutosh Mookerji, C.S.I., whose activities in the cause of education in this country are too well-known to bear repetition in this report. He was one of our earliest members and took a keen interest in the work of our Society. No one more deeply appreciated the good work which was being done by the Society in the cause of historical research in Bengal. By the death of the Most Reverend Dr. B. Meuleman, S.J., Archbishop of Calcutta and one of our Vice-Patrons the Society has lost a steady friend. He took great interest in our work and was ever ready to help the committee in every possible way.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Buckland suggested at one of the meetings of the Committee that the idea of arranging excursions to places of historical interest near about Calcutta for the benefit of the members of the Society should again be seriously considered. I am happy to be able to announce that Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar, an old member of the Council of the Society, who has always taken a keen interest in its activities since its foundation, has very kindly offered hospitality to the members of the Calcutta Historical Society if they should desire to visit Berhampore. The Committee propose to take advantage of the Maharaja's kind invitation and to endeavour to arrange for a Saturday to Monday trip to Cossimbazar and other places of historical interest in that locality.

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. W. S. J. WILSON, treasurer, in submitting the financial statement, said that the accounts had been adjusted that noon and since then certain sums

had been paid in which had not been included. With regard to the outstanding subscriptions he found that some of these would have to be written off. The balance sheet placed before them represented fairly accurately the present financial position of the Society.

Rai Bahadur PROMOTHA NATH MULLICK enquired whether the amount realised by the sale of old volumes of "Bengal: Past and Present" had been included in the statement.

Mr. WILLSON replied that it had been included.

Mr. R. D. MEHTA moved the adoption of the annual report and the financial statement. In doing so, he said, that he would take that opportunity to say that the Society owed its present position largely to the guidance of Mr. Cotton, whose interest in the Society and its journal "Bengal: Past and Present" had given an impetus to historical research. Referring to the Secretary, he deserved that so long as Mr. Abdul Ali held that office, they could be satisfied that there would be no lack of material for historical research and no lack of oriental subjects to interest the members.

Rai Bahadur PROMOTHA NATH MULLICK seconded the motion for the adoption of the report. In doing so, he said that he too would like to express the feelings of all towards Mr. Cotton, who had made the "Bengal: Past and Present" the premier historical journal in India to-day. There was an opinion expressed in some quarters that the price of the journal was too high and would, if reduced, command a larger sale from non-members.

The CHAIRMAN said that he could not agree that the price of the journal was too high. Members who paid an annual subscription of Rs. 20/- obtained the journal free. To non-members the journal was sold at Rs. 5 per copy. A well-got-up historical journal giving more than 100 pages of reading matter with a number of excellent illustrations could nowhere be had for less than Rs. 5 and he thought that it was a fair bargain. It was also in keeping with historical traditions that no journal of research could be priced as an ordinary magazine.

Rai Bahadur PROMOTHA NATH MULLICK and Mr. STUART WILLIAMS said that they had been under the impression that the journal was sold at Rs. 10 per copy.

The CHAIRMAN explained that the price was Rs. 5. But in one instance where the journal could not be unavoidably issued for a particular quarter and was issued as one volume for two quarters, the price charged was Rs. 10 to cover the cost of two issues.

The report and financial statement were then unanimously adopted.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed the election of office-bearers for the year 1925. He said the list was the same as last year except for the addition of the names of the Rev. H. B. Hyde and the Hon. Sir Alexander Muddiman to the list of the Society's Vice-Presidents, and certain changes in the list of members of the Society's Council. Mr. Hyde was now in England but his work for Calcutta deserved commemoration and it would be an acquisition to the Society to have him as a Vice-President. Sir Alexander Muddiman was one of

the original members of the Society and after seeing a copy of "Bengal: Past and Present" he had intimated his wish to rejoin the Society. As regards members of the Society's Council, Mr. Cotton proposed the omission of three names viz., Mr. O'Malley and Mr. Ascoli, who had left Calcutta, and Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, whose untimely death they still deplored. He would take that opportunity to pay a tribute, on behalf of the Society, to the memory of Dr. Dunn, who had given his valuable services most unstintingly in the interests of the Society and its journal. The following had been added to the list of members of the Society's Council: the Raja Bahadur of Nashipur, Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasay of Bansberia, Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Latif, Mr. Mesroby, J. Seth, and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, M.L.C.

The proposal was seconded by Rai Bahadur PROMOTHA NATH MULICK and carried unanimously.

Mr. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI then read a paper entitled "Munny Begum: the Mother of the Company" (1).

The CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Abdul Ali for his interesting paper: and said that he would take that opportunity to allude to another matter. Mr. W. S. J. Willson, their treasurer, would shortly be leaving for England and had therefore sent in his resignation of the office of treasurer. With his usual solicitude for the Society, Mr. Willson had also been good enough to secure a successor in the person of Mr. A. N. Nicholson, of the Mercantile Bank of India who were the bankers for the Society. He was glad to offer to Mr. Willson the grateful thanks of the Society for having so carefully watched the finances of the Society and also for having kept a check on the extravagances of that body known as the editorial board of the journal.

The following resolutions were then moved from the chair:

- (1) The Calcutta Historical Society accept with great regret Mr. W. S. J. Willson's resignation of the office of Treasurer of the Society and appoint Mr. A. N. Nicholson as treasurer in his place.
- (2) The Calcutta Historical Society desire to place on record an expression of their high appreciation of the valuable services rendered to the Society by Mr. W. S. J. Willson, during his tenure of office as treasurer.

The resolutions were seconded by Mr. T. P. GHOSE and carried unanimously.

Mr. S. V. CHARI then proposed a vote of thanks to the Hon. Mr. Cotton. In doing so, he said that it was a great privilege for a junior member such as himself to discharge so pleasant a duty. Of Mr. Cotton's work in the interests of historical research in general and his connection with this Society in particular, there were senior members present there who were more competent to speak. But, for his own part, he desired to express his indebtedness to Mr. Cotton for the paternal solicitude he had shown in young men, who had leanings towards historical study. That was a great encouragement and he therefore felt deeply grateful to Mr. Cotton. The present membership of the

(1) The paper will be published in the next issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

Society, its financial position, the prestige and weight of "Bengal: Past and Present" in India and in England were all due to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cotton.

Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKAR, in seconding the vote of thanks said that he could testify to the paternal interest evinced by Mr. Cotton in young men, not only in this Society. but also as president in an adjoining hall where he and others were perhaps somewhat troublesome members (Laughter). He had great pleasure in supporting the motion.

The motion was carried unanimously.

After a vote of thanks to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali (Secretary), the meeting terminated.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INCOME AND DISBURSEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER 1924.

INCOME.	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance at 1st January 1924 ...	982	13	10
Subscriptions realised for 1922 ...	20	0	0
Subscriptions realised for 1923 ...	165	0	0
Subscriptions realised for 1924 ...	2,435	3	3
Subscriptions in ad- vance for 1925 ...	140	0	0
	2,760	3	3
Cash Sales of Society's Journal	650	7	9
Interest on Fixed De- posit ...	68	2	0
Less accrued In- terest at 31 Dec. 1923 ...	28	9	7
	39	8	5
Donations Special In- dex Fund ...	1,000	0	0
	Rs. 5,433	1	3

DISBURSEMENT.	Rs.	A.	P.
Printer's Blocks ...	381	7	0
Printing ...	2,556	12	3
Wages & Honorarium ...	173	2	0
Stationery ...	23	12	0
Petty Expenses ...	23	0	0
Postages & Packing Charges ...	249	5	6
Bank Charges ...	5	3	0
„ Index Fund ...	1	0	0
	6	3	0
Balance at 31st December, 1924.			
Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India ...	1,000	0	0
On Current Ac- count ...	20	7	6
	1,020	7	6
Index Fund.			
Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India ...	800	0	0
On Current Ac- count ...	199	0	0
	999	0	0
	Rs. 5,433	1	3

Examined & found correct.

(Sd.) LOVELOCK AND LEWES.

Chartered Accountants,

Honorary Auditors.

Calcutta,
14th January, 1925.

A Visit to Murshidabad.

THE project of an excursion to Murshidabad which was foreshadowed in the annual report read at the General Meeting of the Society on December 30, bore speedy fruit. A party of members of the Society and their friends left Calcutta on the evening of Saturday March 7, and after spending the whole of Sunday at Murshidabad returned on the following Monday. Thanks to the generous hospitality of Maharajah Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, K.C.I.E., of Kasimbazar, the visit proved most successful.

The party of visitors was composed of Sir Evan Cotton, Mr. R. D. Mehta, Rai Preonath Mookerjee Bahadur, Nawab Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg, Khan Bahadur, M.L.C., Rao Bahadur S. V. Chari, Mr. N. Gupta, Mr. H. Hobbs, Mr. P. C. Longley, Mr. J. A. Chapman, Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, Mr. Sukhendra Nath Ghose, Mr. K. S. Colah, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali (Honorary Secretary) Mr. K. Bose, Mr. Tafazzal Ahmad and Mr. Aziz-ul-Huq.

After breakfast on Sunday morning at the Banjetia Garden-house of the Maharajah—one of those palatial bungalows with an "Elephant porch," lofty rooms and spacious verandah, which are rapidly disappearing—the party left for Kasimbazar, where the Maharajah's palace was visited. The house is still standing in which the famous Kantu Babu (from whom the Maharajah is descended) sheltered Warren Hastings after the destruction of the English factory by Seraj-ud-Daula in 1756. Here also may be seen the carved stone pillars and arches of Cheyt Singh's house which were brought from Benares by Kanta Babu on the occasion of Warren Hastings' memorable expedition to arrest the Rajah. After a photograph of the party had been taken by Maharaj Kumar Srish Chandra Nandi, M.L.C., the party drove to the old Cossimbazar cemetery and the site (immediately opposite) of the British Factory. In the former is buried the first wife of Hastings who was the widow of Captain John Buchanan, one of the victims of the Black Hole tragedy and who died in 1759. Of the factory which was once a fort with solid bastions mounting ten guns and a saluting battery on the curtain to the river side of twenty-four guns, nothing remains but a mound containing a portion of the fortifications. An inspection followed of the cemetery of the former Dutch Factory at Kalkapur, and the Armenian Church at Saidabad, which was built in 1758 at a cost of two lakhs and thirty-six thousand rupees, and the party then returned to the guest house. At Saidabad likewise was the site of the French factory: but this has been swallowed up by the water works.

The afternoon's programme was a heavy one. The first item was a visit to the Berhampore cemetery which contains the graves of George Thomas, the Irish Raja of Hansi, and Henry Sherwood, the infant son of Mrs. Sherwood whose "Little Henry and His Bearer" was at one time a standard book in Anglo-Indian families. The site of the cantonment at Berhampore was selected by Clive in 1757, after the battle of Plassey and a grant of 133 acres



JAHAN KUSHA OR WORLD'S DESTROYER.
THE GREAT GUN AT MURSHIDABAD



of land was made by Mir Jaffer, but owing to the opposition of the Court of Directors, the buildings were not commenced until 1765. The ruins of the old civil station are lost in jungle, but it is said that the Collector's residence was once occupied by Clive.

From Berhampore the party were driven to the Moti Jheel, or pearl lake. The house, which has now disappeared, was taken by Seraj-ud-Daula in 1756, and it was from its doors that he set out in the following year for his disastrous march to Plassey. It was here too that Clive held the first English Pooneah or collection of revenues, sitting side by side with the Nawab Nazim Najm-ud-Daula in 1765. It was the home of Warren Hastings in 1771 and later on of Sir John Shore who admired "its cooing doves, whistling black-birds and purling streams." In 1786 the Residency was removed to Moidapur and then to Berhampore. The pleasure garden is still known as the Company Bagh: but the only buildings which remain is the Musjid of Shahama Jang, the nephew and son in law of Ali Verdi, and the ruins of the Baraduari erected by Mir Jafar after Plassey.

The next object of interest was the site of the old Tope-khana or Artillery park. Here lies a great gun, Jahan Kosha, "the destroyer of the world," which is said to weigh 212 maunds. It is embedded in a peepul tree which has grown by its side and keeps it suspended some four feet from the ground. A halt was then made at the Rais Bagh where a reception was given in honour of the party by Sahibzada Syed Rais Meerza of the Nizamst family, whose mango plantation is justly famous.

From the Rais Bagh the party proceeded to the Mobaruk Munzil, once the Court House of the East India Company. On the terrace at the back of the building was placed the throne of black stone upon which Clive installed Meer Jafar as Nawab Nazim after the battle of Plassey. It has been removed to the Victoria Memorial Hall and its place taken by a plain stone table.

After a visit to the Kadam Sharif, a mosque founded by Itwar Ali Khan, the Nawab Nazir or Chief Eunuch of Mir Jafar, and so named from a stone bearing the impress of the Prophet's foot, the party arrived at the Palace of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, a magnificent building erected in 1837 after the plan of Government House at Calcutta. There is no mould of decay upon its walls, and no broken arches or ruined columns attest the ravages of time. But the place is deserted and stands as a silent witness of the vanished glories of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal. Its durbar hall and council chamber, its gallery of pictures and its library are bare and cold. It is a mere cenotaph: but the view overlooking the Bhagīrathi river, and the Imambara which faces it, form a magnificent sight.

The Jaffraganj Deori was next visited. The party were received by Sahibzada Syed Mahomed Faiyaz Ali Khan, the lineal descendant of Meeran the eldest son of Mir Jafar who ordered the execution of Siraj-ud-daula after Plassey. Meer Jafar's Diwankhana or hall of audience was shewn. Here the last secret conference before Plassey was held between William Watts, who came in a palanquin disguised as a purdanashin, and Mir Jafar and Miran.

The site of Siraj-ud-daula's murder was also pointed out. It lies within the palace enclosure by the side of the public road, and is marked by a neem-tree. Across the road lies the family cemetery of the Nawabs Nazim which was duly visited and the party were then entertained at tea by the Rajah Bahadur of Nashipore, the descendant of the famous Maharajah Debi Singh, who was in 1773 appointed first Secretary to the Provincial Council at Murshidabad and subsequently became Dewan.

Upon their return to the Banjetia garden house the party were honoured by a visit from the Maharajah of Kasimbazar after dinner. After the toast of the King Emperor had been honoured, Sir Evan Cotton proposed the health of the Maharajah who was, he said, one of the oldest members of the Society and who had by his princely hospitality that day added one more proof of his unfailing interest in the Society and its work. A motion that the Maharajah be elected as a Vice Patron of the Society was carried by acclamation: and after Maharaj Kumar Srish Chandra Nandi had been unanimously elected a member of the Society, the Maharajah returned thanks and expressed the hope that the Society would endeavour to organize many more such expeditions. The party returned to Calcutta on Monday. No account of the expedition would be complete without an acknowledgment of the admirable arrangements which were made by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

S. V. CHARI.

The Editor's Note Book.

IT is with the deepest regret that we record the death on March 20 of the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, at the age of sixty-six. Lord Curzon had been a Patron of the Calcutta Historical Society from the day of its foundation in 1908. He prided himself on the possession of a complete set of *Bengal: Past and Present* and, as he informed the Editor in a letter received not many weeks ago, was a most diligent reader of its pages. Anything indeed that was connected with Calcutta possessed a special fascination for him: and his interest in the city and its history was as vigorous as it was well informed. The same feature in his many sided character led him, during his Viceroyalty, to create the Archaeological Department and to establish the Victoria Memorial. In the midst of the heavy official duties which he undertook after his departure from India, he was always able to find time and leisure for the prosecution of historical research: and he had lately completed a book on Government House which will, in his own words, supply material for many issues of the Society's journal. We lose in him not only our most distinguished member but one of our most generous and constant friends.

A REPRODUCTION was given in our last issue (Vol. XXVII, p. 220) of Thomas Boileau's visit to Mrs. Carey, one of the survivors of the Black Hole tragedy, by Thomas Boileau and Charles Child. It should have been stated that Mr. W. P. Harris is the present owner of Boileau's copy of Holwell's "India Tracts," upon a fly-leaf of which this note is written. Before the book came into the possession of Mr. Harris, it was the property of Mrs. Henry Beveridge, the accomplished wife of an equally accomplished Bengal Civilian, who are both happily still with us. Mrs. Beveridge first called attention to the fly-leaf in a letter written to the *Englishman*: whence the document found its way into the first edition of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. Mr. Harris has been good enough to present this interesting historical document in original to the Victoria Memorial Hall, where it may be seen in the annexe to the Calcutta Room.

THE "ENGLISHMAN" published in its issue of January 21 an interesting account of a portrait of George Washington which is A portrait of George Washington in Calcutta. in the possession of Mr. N. C. Mallick of 12 Wellington Square, Calcutta. The picture is a life-size oil painting, nine feet by six and is the work of Gilbert Stuart, who was born in Rhode Island in 1755 and came to England some twenty years later. He studied under Benjamin West who was himself of American origin, and setting up a studio in London met with some success. Both George the Third and his son the future Prince Regent

sat to him for their portraits: and later on, when his extravagant habits compelled him to migrate first to Dublin and then to Paris, he painted a full length portrait of Louis XVI. Returning eventually to America, he settled first in New York and then at Boston, where he died in 1823. We obtain a glimpse of him in the Farrington Diary under date of July 1, 1794.

Mr. Trumbull, the Artist, is arrived from America and comes in the capacity of Secretary to Mr. [John] Jay, the Ambassador. . . The Arts are likely to be well encouraged in America. Stuart who is now at New York, is well employed. His prices are not so great as he had in England, but his expenses are proportionately more reasonable.

Trumbull, it may be mentioned was also a pupil of Benjamin West and when in London in 1780 was arrested as a spy and imprisoned in Bridewell where he remained seven months until liberated through the influence of Burke. Stuart painted a portrait of him in Bridewell which was the property of The late Mr. John Lane the publisher: and the prison bars are clearly discernible in the picture.

How came this painting to find its way to Calcutta? It is known that The history of the picture. Stuart painted a portrait of Washington which was regarded as very successful, and that he executed a number of replicas. One of these was presented in 1801 by a number of Americans to Ramdoololl Dey a wealthy and prosperous merchant in Calcutta who did a large business with the United States. So high was the esteem in which his American friends held him that a ship was named after him. Upon the death of Ramdoololl in 1825, the picture appears to have been sold at auction to the late Mr. N. C. Mallick, father of the present owner who speedily became aware of its value and refused an offer of £12,500 for it. A reproduction of the picture was given in the "Englishman" of January 28. It is said to be in good condition: and is still encased in the original gilt frame. There are only two others in existence in which the general is shown with his right hand uplifted: and one of these is in the collection of Lord Lansdowne. The story goes that the head only was painted from life: and that the Duc de Noailles, who was a nephew of Lafayette, posed for the body.

RAMDULOLL DEY owed his prosperity (writes Rai Promotha Nath Mullick Bahadur) to his purchase at the sales held by Messrs. Ramduloll Dey. Tulloch and Company of the wreck of a ship, for which he paid Rs. 14000. Upon this purchase he made a profit of nearly a lakh of rupees. This sum he made over to Madan Mohan Dutt of Hathkhola, whose sircar he was, and who returned it to him forthwith. Later on he became banian to the firm of Fairlie Ferguson and Co. and his credit in the market stood high. The failure of the Union Bank materially affected the fortunes of the family which were largely dissipated also in litigation with the Midnapore Raj.

INDIAN gentlemen sat for the first time on the Grand Jury at the Supreme Court on July 27, 1834, when the following were empannelled: Baboos Ashootosh Dey, Dwarkanauth Tagore, Russomoy Dutt, Beer Nursing Mullick, Radha Kistno Mitter, Kasheepersaud Ghose, and Radha Madhub Banerjee. Of these Dwarkanauth Tagore who died in London on August 1, 1846 was at the time perhaps the most influential man in Calcutta: his portrait by F. R. Say may be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall. Ashootosh Dey (who was well known as Chatu Baboo) was one of the wealthiest members of the Indian community. Like his father Ramduloll Dey to whom (as we have seen) a portrait of George Washington was presented, he was an "American Agent." He was one of the Trustees of the Union Bank which had its premises in Tank Square, and when the firm of Palmer and Co. became insolvent in 1830, he was appointed one of the assignees. His two daughters married into the Dutt family of Rambagan: and their sons were Mr. C. C. Dutt, a former Collector of the Corporation and Mr. J. C. Dutt, who is a prominent Calcutta solicitor. Radha Krishna Mitter was the son-in-law of Ramduloll Dey and was also an "American Agent." Radha Madhub Banerjee had been Dewan of the Company's opium factory at Patna and built at Nimtollah, where he lived, a bathing ghat in honour of Lord William Bentinck. Beer Nursing Mullick was the first cousin of Raja Rajendra Mullick of the Marble Palace in Chorebagan, and was intimately associated with the Tagore family. His house was in Jorabagan. Kashee Persaud Ghose lived in Shambazar. He was famous for his English poems and was said by his contemporaries to acknowledge no rival in his acquaintance with English literature. Russomoy Dutt of the well-known Dutt family of Rambagan was originally a book keeper in the firm of Hogue Davidson and Co, and was subsequently appointed a Judge of the Small Cause Court. He presided over the meeting of Indian gentlemen held at the Medical College Hall in 1848 when it was decided to present an address to Mr. Charles Hay Cameron (Law Member of Council from 1842 to 1848), whose portrait hangs in the Town Hall. His third son Gobinda Chandra became a Christian and was the father of the two girl-poets Aru and Toru Dutt. Sir Edward Ryan, in charging the Grand Jury upon this interesting occasion observed that he was one of those who rejoiced exceedingly in seeing Indian gentlemen called upon to join their European fellow subjects in the judicial functions of the Courts: for their intelligence and capacity had already been sufficiently proved in other places, especially in civil cases.

AUSHOOTOSH DEY, Russomoy Dutt, and Radha Krishna Mitter lived in the The Simla quarter in Simla or Simulea quarter of Calcutta, which derives Calcutta. its name from the *Simul* or cotton tree, and is bounded on the North by Beadon Street, on the West by Central Avenue, on the East by Amherst Street, and on the South by Baranosi Ghose's Street. As early as February 11, 1756, a reference to it may be found in a General Letter from the Court of Directors:

It appears also that you were in Treaty to Rent a Spot of Ground called Similia, for the sum of two thousand two hundred and eighty one Current Rupees and as for the reasons you give it seems to be necessary and advantageous to the Settlement, we shall leave it to you to complete the bargain if it is not already done.

A GLIMPSE into the genealogy of another Bengali family which is closely associated with the history of Calcutta was afforded at a historic Bengali family. the unveiling on March 21 of the bust of the late Raja Dinendra Narayan Roy, which has been placed in the Town Hall. Lakshmi Kanta Dhar, the founder of the family, was one of the Subarnabanik bankers who followed Job Charnock from Hooghly to Suttanutee. He rendered welcome financial assistance to Clive on the eve of the battle of Plassey and later on advanced large sums to the East India Company during the first Mahratta War. His grandson was the celebrated Maharajah Bahadur Sukhomoy Roy, who constructed the road from Uluberia to Cuttack with its chain of dharamsalas and wells for the accommodation of pilgrims to Puri. Rajah Dinendra Narayan Roy was the great-grandson of the Maharajah Bahadur whose title was conferred by the Emperor at Delhi and acknowledged by the Company.

Mr. J. J. COTTON, I.C.S., who is on leave in England has discovered that there is a pencil sketch by Gillray of James Paull, the adventurer whose attempts at the impeachment of Lord Wellesley were described in a recent number of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVIII pp. 69—109) in the British Museum collection of prints and drawings. It is thus described at p. 219 of the second volume of Mr. Laurence Binyon's catalogue of Drawings by British Artists in the British Museum (1900):

James Gillray (1757-1815)

Six on one mount.

(a) Portrait sketch of James Paull. Head in profile and wearing hat. Inscribed J. Paull, Esq. and with memoranda of features and costume. Pencil; three and one-eighth inches by two and three-eighth inches.

James Paull (b. 1780 d. 1808) made a fortune as a trader in India: returned to England 1804. Was elected M. P. in the Whig interest for Newtown Isle of Wight 1805 and contested Westminster 1806, when he was defeated by Sheridan and Hood, and 1807 when he had still less success: wounded in a duel with Burdett 1807: died 1808 by suicide. Gillray introduced him in prints of the Westminster election and made a caricature of the duel.

THE death was announced on December 17 at the age of ninety-two. A grandson of the Rev. years and a half of Canon George Cowley Brown, who David Brown. was the grandson of the Rev. David Brown, Provost of the short-lived College of Fort William. Three of David Brown's sons obtained writerships in the Company's service: Charles Philip, the famous Telugu scholar, who served in Madras from 1816 to 1854 and died on December 12, 1884, James Cowley (B.C.S. 1816-1854) Judge of Nadiya who married Matilda Chinnery, the daughter of George Chinnery the artist in 1819 and died in Calcutta on January 15, 1854: and George Francis (B.C.S. 1821-1858) who became Commissioner of Bhagalpur and died in April 19, 1871. Canon Cowley Brown who was the son of the last named was born in 1832 at Jaunpur where his father was then Magistrate and Collector. One of David Brown's daughters, Jane, married Robert Merttins Bird (B.C.S. 1807-1842) whose settlement of the land revenue in the United Provinces has established his reputation. She died young and is buried in the cemetery at Gorakhpore where her husband was judge from 1826 to 1828 and Commissioner from 1829 to 1831. Another daughter became the wife of William Wilberforce Bird (B.C.S. 1803-1848) Deputy Governor of the Presidency of Fort William, with slight intervals from 1840 to 1844, whose portrait hangs in the Town Hall.

It was from William Wilberforce Bird that the present Bishop's Palace in Chowringhee was purchased for Rs. 50,000 by Bishop Daniel Wilson. The Bishop's Palace. The house now known as 5 Russell Street, was used as the Bishop's Palace from 1823 to 1849, and was occupied by Heber (1823-1826) James (1827-1828) Turner (1829-1831) and Wilson himself (1832-1858). Middleton, the first Bishop, (1814-1822) lived in Council House Street on the site of the premises of the Alliance Bank of Simla: and had also a country residence at Serampore which may still be seen on the river bank. Heber on his arrival in October 1823, was accommodated by Lord Amherst in the old Government House in Fort William which is now used as a soldiers' institute and is named after Sir James Outram. Wilson forsook St. John's Church: a sign that the centre of the English quarter was slipping southward from Tank Square. The foundation stone of St. Paul's Cathedral was laid in 1833 and the building consecrated in 1847. The removal of the episcopal residence to 51 Chowringhee followed in 1849: but the house in Russell Street was sold much earlier. We read in Alexander's East India Magazine for July 1838 (vol. 16. p. 173): "The Deputy Governor [Col. W. Morrison] has purchased the Bishop's Palace, which was the property of Mr. [James] Pattle, [Member of the Board of Revenue] for the sum of 82,000 rupees; this is, as times go, a good price."

It may be of interest to members of the United Service Club to learn that the house which stood on the site of their present building was advertised in 1816 to be let for a rent of

Rs. 320 a month. It was then known as No. 24 Chowringhee Road and was the residence of Lieut.-Colonel C. Fagan.

MR. H. J. TWYNAM, I.C.S., writes from Mymensingh: While reading the interesting article on "The Maratha Invasion of Bengal in 1743" by Professor J. N. Samaddar (*Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXVII Part I) my attention was drawn to the query in foot-note 30 (p. 52) regarding the word মোরচা (morcha). From actual experience I know the word to be the Persian equivalent for trenches. I have looked at the original Bengalee of the Maharastra Purana published in the Journal of the Sahitya Parishad (Vol. XIII Part I) for verification. The above interpretation seems to be supported by other passages in which the word মোরচা (morcha) occur. These are given below :—

রহনপুরে নবাব সাহেব মোরচা দিল।
চতুর্দিকে ভোপ থা রুশিয়া রাখিল ॥

(Rahanpuré Nawab Saheb morcha dila,
Chatuddigé topekhá rupiá rakhila.)

"The Nawab Saheb built trenches at Rahanpur and mounted batteries on all sides."

জত লস্কর তার পিছে হইল।
আপন আপন মোরচাএ সভাই আইল ॥

(Jata laskar tár pichhe haitá chhila,
Apan ápan morchaé sabhai áila.)

Every one of the soldiers who had retreated, returned to their respective trenches."

Next the passage given in foot-note (31) which has been left untranslated.

তবে বল মহাতাব সব জালিয়াত দিল।
বরকন্দাজের পরা মোরচাএ লাগিল ॥

(Tabé bala mahâtáb sab jaliyat dila,
Barkandazer para morchaé lágila.)

"Then the torches were lit and the sons of Burkandazes (vulgarism for Burkandazes) began action in their trenches."

So we can translate the text.

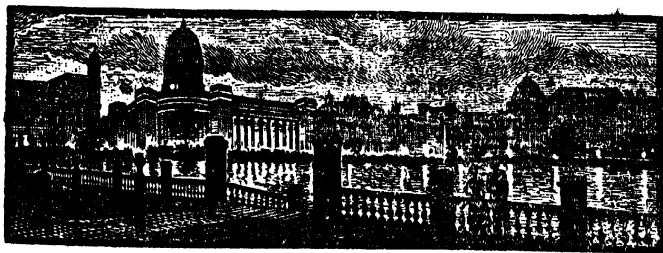
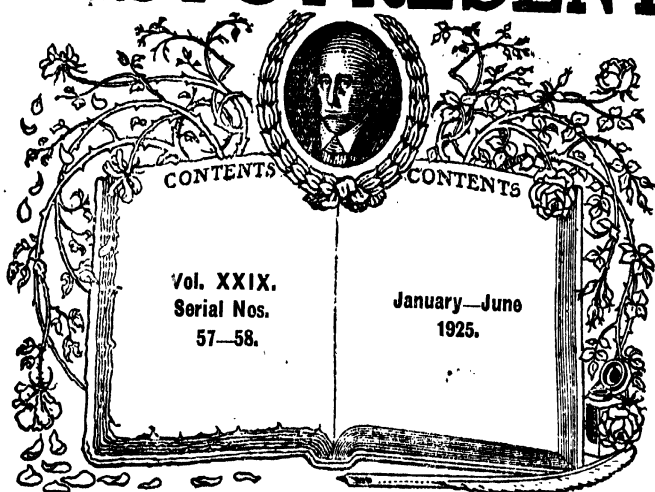
তবে গোলন্দাজে গোল দাগিতে লাগিল।
মোরচা ছেদিয়া গোলা ফৌজে পড়িল ॥

(Tabé golandazé gol dagité lágila,
Morcha chhediya gola foujé parila.)

"Then the gunners began to fire cannons. The cannon balls piercing through the trenches fell on the soldiers."



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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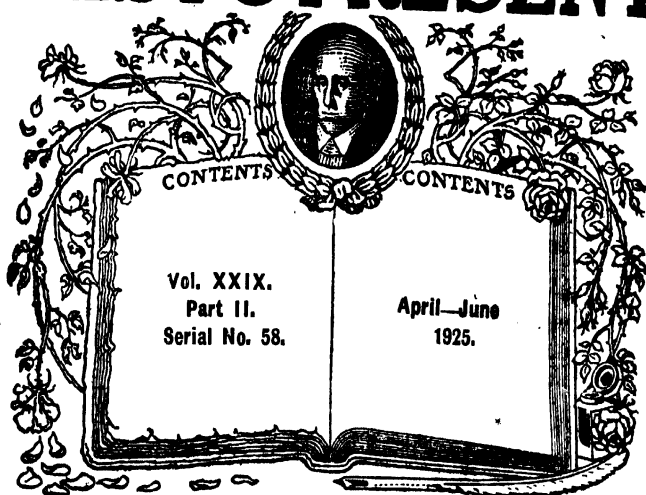
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



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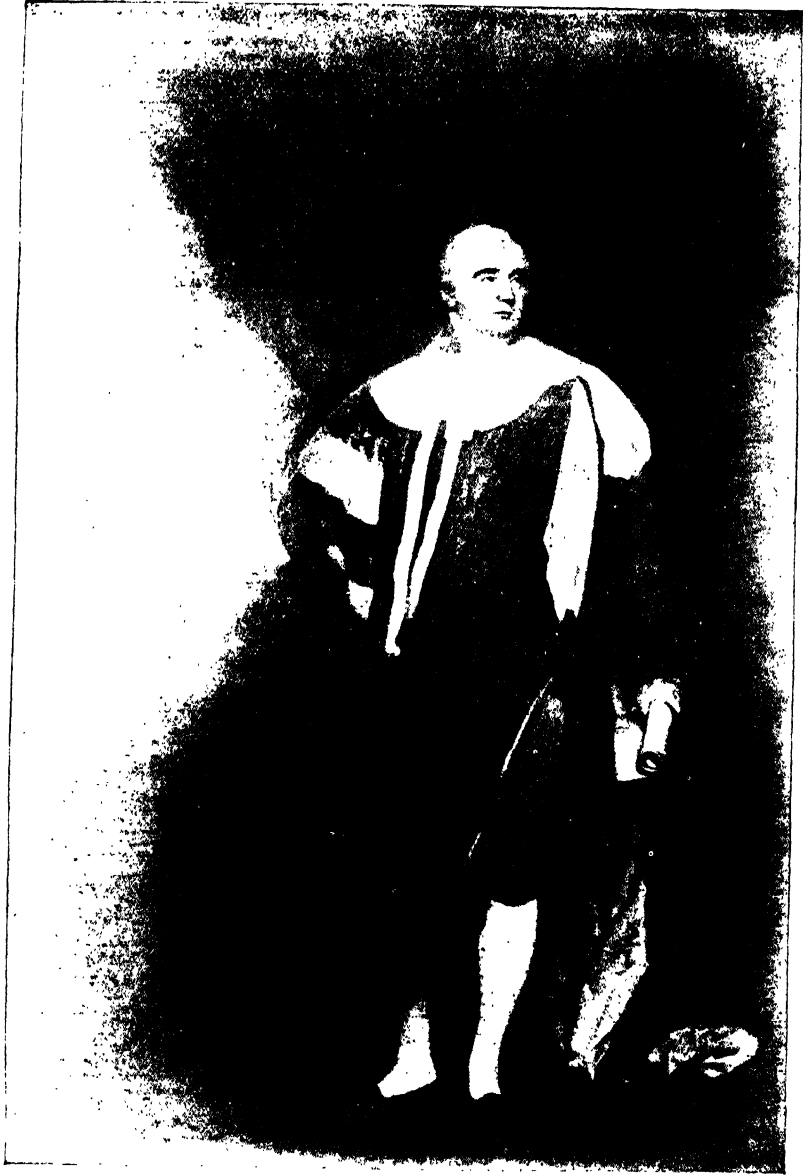
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GILBERT ELLIOT, FIRST EARL OF MINTO :
PORTRAIT BY GEORGE CHINNERY AT BELVEDERE.
(From a Photograph by Mr. F. Harrington.)

The Story of a Lost Picture.

CHINNERY'S PORTRAITS OF THE FIRST LORD MINTO.

A FINE full-length portrait of the first Earl of Minto, who was Governor-General from 1807 to 1813, once hung in the Council-chamber at Government House, Calcutta, and may now be seen at Belvedere. Lord Minto is represented standing in peer's robes and wearing the Windsor uniform and knee breeches. He holds in his left hand a partially unrolled paper inscribed "Mauritius"; and a large map hanging from a table bearing the words "Borneo," "Sumatra," "Sunda," and "Java." In the distance is a harbour with fortifications, and shipping. The authorship has been attributed to George Chinnery and the ascription is probably correct. But it is in any case not the painting from which the well-known engraving by Charles Turner was made.

In a minute recorded on November 22, 1910, by the fourth Lord Minto (who was Viceroy from 1905 to 1910) and inserted in the Military Secretary's copy of Colonel Algernon Durand's List of Pictures at Government House, Calcutta (1), the following passage occurs :

Till I came to India I was always under the impression that Turner's print had been taken from the picture of Lord Minto in the Council Room which I understood was by Chinnery. But on comparing the print with the picture I find the picture is certainly not the original of the print. On the other hand there was for many years at Minto a full length portrait of the first Earl in a large massive gold frame, the top of which was embellished by a coronet, and as a boy I was always told that this picture was a replica by Chinnery of the portrait in the Council Room at Calcutta. Now that I am acquainted with the latter painting I see that the picture which was at Minto is not a replica but the original Chinnery from which Turner's print was taken. The picture was somewhat crude in colouring and, as I believed it to be a copy, I presented it to the Town Hall at Hawick, thinking that the original was at Calcutta. I now find that I certainly gave away the original of the print.

Assuming that the picture at Belvedere is by Chinnery, we have it that two portraits of the first Lord Minto were painted in Calcutta by that artist. But there is evidence to show that he painted at least two more. One of these portraits is at Government House Singapore : and this may be identified with the painting carried to Java in May, 1813, by His Majesty's frigate Hussar, which conveyed Lord Minto to England later in the year. We read in the Calcutta Gazette of May 29, 1813, that "the portrait of the Right Honorable Lord Minto, Governor-General of India," was received at Batavia "with marked

(1) Permission to make use of this minute has most kindly been given by His Excellency the Earl of Reading.

ceremony and respect," and was landed under a *feu de joie*. There is ground for supposing that it was a gift from Lord Minto himself. Java was occupied by the British in 1810 and handed back to the Dutch in 1815; and the picture was naturally sent to Singapore at the time of the evacuation. The description of this picture, as given in the *Calcutta Gazette*, tallies almost exactly with that of the picture at Belvedere. Lord Minto is painted "full length" in "full robes" with such accessories as maps of Mauritius and Bourbon and with his left hand resting on a map of Java.

The fourth portrait, which is now at the Victoria Memorial Hall, has had a remarkable history. On Lord Minto's departure from Calcutta in December, 1813, he was entertained by the "settlement" at a ball at Moore's Assembly Rooms in Dacres Lane. Seven hundred cards of invitation were sent out, and the journals of the period record as an incident of the evening that "Mr. Chinnery's admirable portrait of His Lordship in a sitting posture was placed in the hall and received the admiration of all for the grandeur of composition and great power of execution which it displayed." From the context it would appear that the picture must have been painted as the result of public subscription: and in the ordinary course it should have been placed in some public room in Calcutta (2). It disappeared, however: and for three quarters of a century all traces of it was lost. The story of its discovery is related by the late Lord Minto in the minute from which we have already quoted:

In August, 1888, Colonel Yule happened to be visiting in Ayrshire and at Ballochmyle, the residence of Sir Claud Alexander, he found what was undoubtedly a portrait of the first Lord Minto, answering exactly to the description of the picture in a sitting posture supposed to have been presented to Calcutta. Colonel Yule had the picture photographed, and I now have a copy with me in India. It is undoubtedly the missing picture, but how it got to Ballochmyle I have been unable to discover. The picture now takes its place as one of the Alexander ancestors. I asked my brother, who lives in Ayrshire, if he could in any way trace the history of the picture, and he tells me that all he can discover is that the Alexanders made money in India and that he found from a county history that an Alexander of Ballochmyle was Paymaster and Auditor General in Calcutta: so that the picture may in some strange way have come into the hands of the Alexander family through their Indian connexion. I have also heard of the existence in Ayrshire of a presentation portrait of Warren Hastings. It is a miniature and is now the property of Mr. George Baird.

At the end of his minute Lord Minto expressed the hope that the picture of his ancestor might find its way back to Calcutta. That hope has now been

(2) In a note recorded in 1887, Colonel R. Home, who was at the time attached to the Public Works Department of the Government of India, makes mention of a portrait of Lord Minto painted in 1812 by his grandfather, Robert Home, which is, he says, in the Calcutta Town Hall. No such picture can however be identified in that collection: and it must be supposed that Col. Home was referring to the portrait of Lord Minto in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which is certainly the work of Robert Home.

fulfilled. When the existence of the minute came last year to the notice of the present writer, a copy of it was sent to Lord Curzon, who with characteristic energy at once took the matter up. After considerable negotiation, Sir Claud Alexander was induced to part with the picture: and it has been most generously presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the Dowager Countess of Minto, her son (the present Earl), and her daughters.

The picture is a small one, the dimensions of the canvas being 42 inches by 34 inches: but as our reproduction will show, it is charmingly composed and a visit to the Victoria Memorial Hall will show that it is admirably painted.

It remains to be ascertained how the picture came into the possession of the Alexander family. The question is, unhappily, not capable of a direct reply. But it is at any rate certain that the Alexander of Ballochmyle who is mentioned in the minute, left Calcutta long before the advent of the first Lord Minto. Claud Alexander was born in 1762, and entering the Company's service became Military Paymaster-General at Fort William in 1780 (3). The estate of Ballochmyle was bought by him in 1783: and he died there in 1809 (4). His brother Boyd Alexander (1758-1825) was also in the Company's service and later "of Southbar and Boghall." After his retirement from India he sat in the House of Commons as member for Renfrew in 1796 and Glasgow in 1802. A portrait of Claud and Boyd Alexander with an Indian servant was painted about the year 1788 by Zoffany and is reproduced by Dr. Williamson opposite page 110 of his book.

There were, however, several Alexanders in Bengal during Lord Minto's period of office as Governor-General (1807-1813). Henry Alexander who was a Director of the Company from 1826 to 1853 and M.P. for Barnstaple and who died in 1861, was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1802 to 1807 and thereafter until his return to England was a partner in the great Calcutta house of Alexander and Company which failed in 1833. James Alexander, who was associated with the same firm, came out to India in 1785 and was a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1805 to 1816. His name appears in the list of subscribers to the 1803 edition of John Hawkesworth's "Asiaticus: in Two Parts." John Alexander, who came out in 1806, was an indigo manufacturer at Sola, near Maldah, from 1810 to 1817. Robert Alexander came out as a writer on the Bengal Establishment on July 29, 1805 and was appointed to be an assistant in the office of the Secretary in the Political and Foreign Department on March 17, 1808. He accompanied Mountstuart Elphinstone on his mission to Cabul in August, 1808, and became Deputy Secretary in the Persian Department in 1812. Two years later he resigned the service in India and died

(3) He succeeded William Pawson the father-in-law of Col. William Kirkpatrick who founded the Military Orphan School. The monument "in the Great Burial Ground at Chowringhee" to George Bogle of Tibet renown, who died on April 3, 1781, was erected by "his most affectionate friends David Anderson and Claud Alexander."

(4) In a letter from "a correspondent" published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of January 19, 1797, it is stated that Robert Burns "was born in the country Ayr in the year 1759 on an estate that belonged to the late Mr. John Ferguson of Calcutta," and that he has "lately occupied a farm on the estate of Mr. Claud Alexander, also of this town."

on his way to Europe. None of these were related to the family of Sir Claud Alexander, if we may rely upon the details given in Burke's Peerage and Baronetage. But it is evident that there was some connexion between the Mintos and the Alexanders: for we find a writer of 1850 of the name of George Henry Minto Alexander who may well have been the son of Henry Alexander.

Lord Minto did not long survive his return to England. He arrived in May, and died on June 21, 1814, while on his way to Minto. A strange story is told in the sixth volume of Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott. It forms part of the novelist's diary, and is dated December 23, 1825:

It is very odd that the common people about Minto and the neighbourhood will not believe at this hour that the first Earl is dead. They think he did something in India which he could not answer for—that the house was rebuilt on a scale unusually large to give him a suite of secret apartments, and that he often walks about the woods and crags of Minto at night with a white night cap and a long white beard. The circumstance of his having died on the road down to Scotland is the sole foundation of this absurd legend, which shews how willing the public are to gull themselves when they can find no one else to take the trouble.

As Sir Gilbert Elliot, Minto was one of the managers for the House of Commons in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and it was he also who, when moving for the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey in 1788, gave the imaginative account of the execution of Nuncomar which was followed by Macaulay and skilfully improved upon. By a curious coincidence, his younger brother Alexander Elliot (5), a young writer who died in 1778 at the age of twenty-three, was an intimate friend both of Hastings and of Impey and acted in 1775 as interpreter at Nuncomar's trial, being "eminently skilled in the Persian and Hindoostanee language." Alexander Elliot's grave at Saragarh near Cuttack may still be seen. He died on his way to Nagpur "for the execution of an important commission" to Mahdaji Bhonsla. Hastings' tribute to him in his imitation of Horace's *Otium divos* is well-known.

An early death was Elliot's doom:

I saw his opening virtues bloom

And manly sense unfold:

Too soon to fade, I bade the stone

Record his name, midst herdes unknown,

Unknowing what it told.

From 1794 to 1796 Minto was Viceroy of Corsica: and an interesting picture of him at that period may be found in the first volume (p. 165) of "Pages and Portraits from the Past," by Admiral Sir William Hotham, G. C. B., a book published in 1919. Hotham took part in the capture of Corsica in 1794 by Lord Hood and Sir David Dundas; when Nelson lost an eye at Calvi. While lying in Fiorenzo Bay in the sloop *L'Eclair*, he went over the mountains to Bastia, and stayed for some time with Sir Gilbert Elliot.

(5) Another brother, Hugh, was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1814 to 1820.



THE LOST PICTURE OF LORD MINTO BY CHINNERY:
NOW IN THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL COLLECTION.

(From a Photograph by Mr. F. Harrington.)

A Young Civilian in Bengal in 1805.

LIFE IN CALCUTTA AND AT MYMENSINGH.

AMONG the exhibits shown by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara at the Poona session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, was a small slim volume containing manuscript notes on life in Calcutta and at Mymensingh. The book proved upon examination to be full of interest and by the courtesy of the Rao Bahadur, we are enabled to present a transcription.

The manuscript ends with the initials "H. R."; and contains the following note, which is the only external indication of its source: "I leave this manuscript little volume to my cousin L^e Mesurier, B.C.R. September, 1855." The narrative itself, however, affords certain clues which make it possible to identify it definitely as the work of Isaac Henry Townley Roberdeau, who was appointed to be a writer on the Bengal establishment on the 29th August, 1799. These clues have been skilfully followed up by Baboo Suresh Chandra Roy, of the Bengal Secretariat Record Room, and the following memorandum is from his pen.

Roberdeau's career in Bengal was brief. He was posted as Assistant Collector to Mymensingh on the 23rd June, 1801 (1) and remained in this district for the rest of his service. He became "Register to the Zillah Judge" on the 11th August, 1803 (2) and he was filling that office, as he himself relates, at the time when he wrote his account of life in Mymensingh. He was appointed to officiate as Magistrate and Judge of the district vice Mr. J. Rattray from 6th April, 1805 (3) and again from 15th March, 1806 (4). On the 11th March, 1807, he was appointed Assistant to the Judge and Magistrate of the district (5), but in the following April had to apply for one month's leave, "after a very severe fit of illness", "for the purpose of proceeding on the river for the change of air" (6). He died at Mymensingh on the 28th April, 1808 (7).

Reference is made in the manuscript to the separation of the Judicial jurisdiction of the Dacca and Mymensingh districts twelve or fourteen years previously to the writer's own appointment as Registrar (Register). The separation was effected in the year 1793 (8), and this passage must therefore refer

(1) Judicial Civil : O. C., 25 June, 1801 No. 1.

(2) Ibid : O. C., 11 August, 1803 No. 6.

(3) Ibid : O. C.'s, 18 April, 1805 Nos. 17-19.

(4) Ibid : O. C., 27 March, 1806 No. 1.

(5) Ibid : O. C., 12 March, 1807 No. 13.

(6) Ibid : O. C., 7 May, 1807 No. 26.

(7) Ibid : Progs. 3 June 1808 p. 153. [Mr. H. T. Twynam, I. C. S., who has been good enough to examine the record of tombs in the European cemetery at Mymensingh, reports that there is no entry in the name of Roberdeau. None of the graves appear to be of an earlier date than 1821.—Ed. B. P. and P.]

(8) Mymensingh Gazetteer, p. 118.

to some time about the year 1805. Moreover, one of the pen and ink sketches bound up with the manuscript, depicting the river front at Mymensingh, shows a bungalow described as "LeGros's," and Francis LeGros was Collector of Mymensingh from 28th December, 1795 to 13th July 1806 (9). Dodwell and Miles's Civil List does not assign any officer with the initials "H. R." to Mymensingh in this period. It mentions, however, Isaac Henry Townley Roberdeau as Register at Mymensingh in 1803 (10); and correspondence has been traced in the Bengal Record Room, including two letters bearing his signature, which show that he signed regularly as Henry Roberdeau. There is a certain amount of variation in the autograph in different years (11), but the resemblance between the peculiarly characteristic "H. R." in the initials appended to the manuscript and the signature in these letters is unmistakable.

The account of life in Mymensingh can be assigned therefore to the period between the years 1803 and 1805, and the youthful spontaneity of the writer suggests that he had not been in India for many years when it was written. If further confirmation were required for ascribing it to this date, it would be found in points of resemblance with other accounts of life in Bengal at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. For instance, the writer's mention of the decline of the theatre in Calcutta recalls a passage in Carey's "Good Old Days of John Company" (12). "Where sweet Desdemona died," writes Henry Roberdeau, "the gentle Messieurs Roworth & Co., now dispose of Europe, China and Country Goods", and advertisements by this firm will be found in Seton Karr's Selections from the Calcutta Gazette for the year 1805 (13). The narrative of life in Calcutta may be compared too with that in the novel "Hartly House", which predates Roberdeau's reminiscences by a few years.

Roberdeau's introductory quotation is taken from the "Forms of Herkern, Persian Letter Writer," by Dr. Francis Balfour, an intimate friend of Warren Hastings, who entered the Company's Medical Service on the Bengal Establishment in 1769 and retired in 1807.

(9) Dodwell and Miles's Civil List pp. 272—73. [LeGros was appointed Commercial Resident at Patna in 1812 and died there on May, 10, 1818, act. 55.—Ed. B. P. and P.]

(10) Dodwell and Miles, pp. 426—27.

(11) Judicial Civil : O. C., 18 April, 1805 Nos. 18—19, and 7 May, 1807 No. 26.

(12) Vol. I. p. 133.

(13) Vol. III. p. 581.

ہر جا کہ سہوے یا غلطائے واقع شدہ
 باشد بذیل کرم پیشند و فہم اصلاح
 بران جاری نمایند

"Whenever there shall occur an omission or error,
 cover it with the Mantle of Generosity, and hold
 the Pen of Correction running over it."

Doctor Balfour's Herkern.

NOTES

IN describing the manners, customs, and amusements, of the Anglo-East-Indians I shall not be able to observe much method of detail, the subjects being very miscellaneous and incongruous. As many of our domestic and slighter customs receive their origin from the season, it may be proper to say a word on that point. The Bengal year may, I think, be divided into three distinct parts: the first, commencing in March, and ending towards the middle or latter end of June, is what we denominate the Hot weather. The second, commencing at the last mentioned period and ending about the middle of October, is called the Rains. This period of the year is also very sultry but more variable than the "Hotweather." The last share or division is from the middle of October to the latter end of February, and this is the Cold season, of all others the most delightful. Being nearer the Equator, our Days and Nights are more equal than in Remoter Regions. The longest day (I reckon between sun-rise and sun-set) may be computed at about thirteen hours and half, and the shortest at about ten hours and half. Our twilight is also less considerable than in England particularly in the Evening. Thus much by way of introduction.

You will recollect that I mean merely to describe the Bengal presidency, and therefore do not mention any thing of Madraas or other places. It is generally supposed that when a ship from England touches at Madraas the young Passengers have an opportunity of forming some judgment of the manners of Englishmen in India. Such I do not think is the case; situation always makes some difference of manners, & from what I had an opportunity of observing, I am not much inclined to bestow praise, at least on the hospitality of my Countrymen in that part of India. I should suspect some lurking pique or prejudice in this remark, if it were not supported by the opinion of others capable of pronouncing on the merits of the case. Let us go on to Diamond Harbour.

From the Pilot who comes on Board is learned all the news of Calcutta, at least all general public matters, and, what is of more importance to the Captains and others, the state of the market. His report will add half a foot to the length

of a face, or wrinkle it up into an universal grin. The Purser of the Ship has an invariable and established right to the first Boat that comes alongside after anchoring, in which he proceeds to Town with the dispatches. The Passengers must shift for themselves, and easily procure accommodation to Calcutta, which, if they are fortunate, they will reach in less than two days. There is a half-way House on the Banks of the River which offers accommodation if necessary, and furnishes a Billiard Table for amusement. Nothing worthy of observation occurs save that part of the River called Garden reach where Gentlemen's Country Houses are situated. They have a fine effect. The extraordinary deep verdure of the Trees I recollect attracted my attention very particularly, but I doubt whether this might not be occasioned by having been so long a stranger to anything of the kind. As the Boat comes to, you may observe the Banks (at Calcutta) thronged with Sircars, Bearers, Khitmutghars, and a long list of plunderers ready to offer their services to the "Griffin" or new comer. He alights upon Bengal Terra firma "all gaze all wonder", hot and uncomfortable. Some one of the obliging multitude puts a Chhattah (umbrella) over his head, and offers to lead the way to a Punch-House, the name which Natives universally apply to a Tavern. Should he arrive in the middle of the day he will be much surprized at the silence and loneliness of the streets thro' which he passess. That is the hour at which the Natives generally take a Repast, which is a kind of luncheon called by us in this Country "Tiffin". The first Countryman he sees will in all probability be the Tavern keeper who welcomes him to India and presents his Bill of fare.

Novelty is the charm which attracts him, and he immediately orders pine-apples or something of that kind to allay his thirst. In the meantime some of the officious Gentlemen whom he met at landing have ranged themselves behind his Chair, and as he is equally ignorant of all he can have no choice, therefore suffers them to remain, not a little elevated at the dignity of two or three Servants. Curiosity burns in every vein; all he sees is new, strange, and incomprehensible. He perhaps has it in contemplation to sally forth and view the City, not knowing that an Elephant on London bridge would not create more astonishment than a Gentleman *walking* about Calcutta in the middle of the day. His Landlord explains this to him, and he is content to let his curiosity remain unsatisfied till the morrow. Not that he wants subjects for speculation within Doors for there every thing is equally new. He looks up, and sees a large frame hanging which being pulled backwards and forwards creates an artificial wind. He is told it is called a Punkah. In this kind of wonder and enquiry he passes his time until the Sun sets. Calcutta then begins to move, He stands gazing at the window and sees Chariots, Sociables, Buggies, Landaus &c &c pass & repass in rapid succession. Presently a tandem comes smoking down the Street, a groom or two behind and the whole equipage evincing style, taste, and magnificence. Pray who may the owner be? The owner, gentle Griffin, is a writer who

"Wisely heeds what Epicureans say

"And tastes the pleasures of the present day".

Good God! How can he be so imprudent! Why, the equipage would do honor to a Lord. Take care Novice! Temptation surrounds you and a twelve-month hence I shall perhaps have occasion to say "Good God, how can you be so imprudent!" If you have *mind*, do as you please; if not do as their example directs.

In this tumult of hurrying thoughts he continues to gaze untill the prospect becomes

"One swimming scene uncertain to behold."

He cannot however yet retire for Calcutta now presents a new scene. During the Hot weather in this Country the Doors and windows even to the Venetians are all thrown open after Sun-set. When it becomes dark the Houses all appear, and indeed literally are, illuminated. We are in general very liberal of our wax candles which thro' the open windows throw a glare across the Road that gives a very cheerful and uncommon effect. In the mean time the groups of figures which, by a wanderer, may be seen in the different Houses, some lolling out of window, others walking up and down the Vestibule, add greatly to the spirit of the scene. I should observe that this is all above stairs, for the ground floor is seldom appropriated to the purposes of a drawing Room, tho' the dining apartment is always below. But *that* being the large Hall in the center of the building the lights which it may contain cannot be seen from the outside.

Leaving these fairy scenes for a while, let us return to the Solitary Griffin at the Punch-House. His Dinner hour has arrived & he orders it to be served up expecting a good plain Dish or two. Servant after Servant comes in and not one of them empty handed; one bears a Curry & Rice, another brings in a Pelloe & Kubabs, while a third sets down another Dish of which he is equally ignorant. Nor are English Dishes wanting, he finds Good plain boiled & Roast in many forms, mutton, Veal, Beef, Poultry, &c &c. Then follow the tribe of Vegetables, among which he may perhaps recognise (according to the Season) potatoes, peas, greens, cauliflowers &c &c, the remainder he is content to look at only, for nothing, in my opinion, wants temptation so much as Bengal native Roots & herbs. He eats an English Dinner, and (which he has learned on Ship Board) calls for the usual *draught* beverage of the East, *Water*. Immediately arises "a hubbub wild" like the noise of pebbles in a tin Cannister; or perhaps it is a better simile to say like a Man sharpening a saw; or perhaps it is unlike any sound he ever heard. Curiosity sticks pins in his Chair and he can sit no longer, but sallies out to learn whence "*flow* such sounds divine". They *flow* indeed, for lo! it is the *Aubdar* squatted on his Rump cooling the drinking water. Before him is a round Vessel, flat, with a very large mouth called a *Tass*, in this is the salt-petre and water. In his right hand he holds a *Sooroy* (14) which he rubs to and fro in the *Tass* and by this means the water contained in the *Sooroy* becomes as cold, I had almost said, as Ice, and

(14) *Sooroy*, Arabic-Persian, *Surahi*. A long necked earthenware or metal flagon.
Tass: more familiar under the name of *Chillumchee*.

indeed very nearly so. I should tell you that they are made of a Composition which very much resembles pewter. Should he call for Wine during the Repast the Bottle will make its appearance in disguise, and reeking wet from the Tass. Red wines wear a Red, and white a white, Petticoat. Confectionary (which is the same as in England) follows the Cookery as also fruit in which article he will be dreadfully disappointed for, as I have before expressed, I would not give a green Codlin for all the fruits in India. They consist in general of the pine-apple, Gwavor, Plaintain, orange (which must be excepted from my condemnation) Lechui, Wampee, Loquot, (the three last are originally from China) Pumplenow (15), custard-apples, mangoe and several species of Pumkin, besides water melons which grow to a great size and are refreshing. In the western provinces I am told they get tolerably good grapes. The great fault of India fruit is the want of flavor, the best are I think the mangoe & the orange, the pine apple is also eatable.

And now approaches "the great the important" hour of Bed-time, great only by its consequences. And Griffin! if you are an Achilles wrap up your heel and sleep securely, if not, mark the event. He soon sinks to profound sleep, for not knowing what it portends, he is inattentive to the buzzing murmur of the Musquitoes. Not to be prolix, let us imagine that Aurora has unbarred the gates of the East, and turned out the gentle hours. The Griffin gets up hot and feverish which he naturally attributes to the Climate, he sees his hands and arms bloody which he knows not what to attribute to, at last he approaches the Mirror, and "oh Jephtha Judge of Israel" what a visage!! To compare it to any thing but to a plum pudding stuck full of red berries would be ridiculous, because it resembles nothing else in this our world. The irritation occasioned by the Musquito bite has swelled his face to deformity, and the puncture of the Proboscis is marked by red blotches. In this deplorable condition he must be content to remain within Doors for a few days, and if he has resolution sufficient to forbear scratching he will soon be well, & he should endeavour to do so by every means in his power, for by scratching he will create so much inflammation as to be productive of very unpleasant, not to say dangerous, consequences. Many things are recommended to allay the irritation, but in my opinion it is better to let the venom exhaust itself, which it certainly will do in time. This negligence in not providing proper Musquito Curtains renders the Tavern Keepers extremely culpable, and shews how little solicitous they are about the accommodation of their Guests. From this day the Griffin will know that the buzzing of the Insects "gives dreadful Note of preparation." It is observed that young arrivers are always more bitten than those longer in the Country, supposing them to be equally exposed. The Musquito is about the size and shape of a Gnat. During the day they remain concealed & sally out just at Evening.

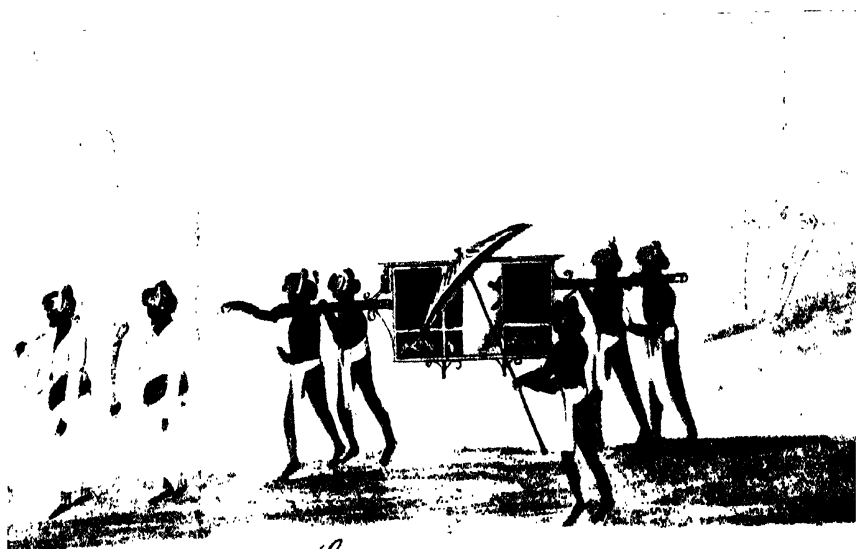
He will find employment during this short confinement in enquiring about the persons to whom he may have Letters of recommendation as well as in send-

(15) *Pumplenow*—Pummelo; the "pimpenoses" of Edward Ives (1754—56).

ing for Taylors (either European or Native) to make up his India dresses. You are aware that the dress of this Country is invariably white, some warmer Clothing being resorted to in the Cold Season. The suit consists of Pantaloons and half Boots (according to fancy) a waistcoat and a Jacket which is a mere waistcoat with sleeves. Various description of Cloths are made use of, the most delightful, but the most expensive is fine Irish Linen. White nankeens, Madrass long Cloths &c. are also very pleasant & generally adopted. Under the Shirt many Gentlemen wear a garment called a Banian made of thin muslin which absorbs the perspiration and consequently keeps the other parts of the drapery dry. The Griffin will perhaps not learn this Custom until he has been some time in India. Etiquette in Calcutta (and in Calcutta only are they so formal) requires that we should go to Dinner in a Coat, which however is generally soon got rid of by the Host or Hostess requesting you to "call for a Jacket".

Our Griffin will perhaps think the Breakfast Table "polluted," as Johnson expresses it, for in addition to the usual articles of Bread & Butter Toast &c he will find Eggs, fish, Rice, Cold fowls, Hams, tongues &c &c. The Tea and Coffee are often tho' not always made at the Sideboard by one of the Servants. Behind him will stand one of his khidmutghars brushing away the flies (which are often very numerous) with a machine called a "Chowry". The best are made of the Tail of a particular species of Cow which however I have not been fortunate enough to see. The hair is as soft as silk. Others are made of Peacock feathers &c &c. I should have mentioned that he will be at some loss the first time he goes to wash his hands and face in a thing called a *Chillumchee* which is made either of brass or copper. I know not what to compare it to unless it be to a large flat pan with a flat cover full of little holes to enable the water to run thro'. Over this machine he holds his hands while a Servant with a black Earthen pitcher pours the water. By this means nothing but pure clean water comes in contact with his hands, and in this point I think we are more cleanly and delicate than our Countryman in Europe. The Griffin's difficulty arises from his ignorance of the mode of going to work. The first time it was brought to me I took it for a kind of Cabbage drainer and was sending it away when my mistake was explained.

About two o'clock he will be summoned to a second Repast called Tiffin. This is a slight meal corresponding with the English Luncheon. It consists of cold meats, curries, salads &c &c. A very general Dish at this meal is called *Mullce ke tanee* and which is a kind of soup made of fowls boiled with spices &c and seasoned and colored with a good proportion of *Turmeric*; it is eaten with Rice, and is a most pleasant & refreshing thing. After this Repast he will probably go to sleep which is a pretty general Custom in this Country among those who have leisure. This Nap lasts until five or six o'clock, when the setting of the Sun invites the Gentry forth to the Course. Night again comes and our Griffin goes to Bed better secured against the stings of his Nocturnal invaders.



Long Palanquin



Chair Palanquin

But it is now time to take our Griffin out of the Punch-House and introduce him to the persons to whom he may have Letters of recommendation. To do this he must get a Palanquin and many Ticket (sic) ones apply for hire about the Taverns. They are generally of a shabby description, but will do until he can suit himself permanently. The hire per diem is one Rupee (and here let me say once for all that when I mention a Rupee I mean a Sicca Rupee worth two shillings and six pence). Palanquins are of two kinds, the long one called a Mahanna, in which we lay full length with a support for the head and shoulders, and the upright or Cha'r one. The latter are rarely used by Men, and the others seldom or never by Ladies. In addition to these conveyances we have things called "Tonjons" (16) of which also there are two kinds the single poled and double poled. These are never used but in the Country, & then only in the Cold weather or when the Sun is not above the hemisphere. I prefer them to Palanquins altho' keeping one of them does not exempt you from also keeping a Palanquin, because during the Rains Tonjons are of course quite useless. Some of them have a Canopy and some not. As in all articles of accommodation so Palanquins may be made very elegant & expensive. They are to be had from eighty Rupees up to four or five hundred. A very good one may be had from 150 to 200 Rupees. They are sometimes fitted up for travelling with shelves &c. and places for Bottles &c.

Our Griffin gets into a long one and directs his Hircarrah (running footman) where to take him. The first Letter he gives will in all probability procure him an invitation to reside until he can settle himself, this he of course thankfully accepts, sends for his Trunks &c &c from the "Punch-house" and takes possession of the apartments allotted to him. From this date the Griffin is to be considered as introduced to the beau monde of Calcutta, tho' the appellation of Griffin will adhere to him until he has been a twelvemonth & a day in India. How this Custom and name originated I have not been able to learn (17). It is of course only used in a ludicrous sense. Having thus briefly conducted our young traveller from the Ship to his friends, we shall now drop him, and in describing what else remains to be told shall speak generally dividing the matter however into heads as follow.

AMUSEMENTS IN CALCUTTA.

Under this head I have not much to say, Calcutta being very destitute of amusements properly so called. I arrived in India just time enough to witness the decline and fall of a Theatre and Panorama. The former was a Tree which, bid fair to flourish and produce sweet fruit, but it was blasted by a cold frown from Government, withered and died; and I think the chances are that this soil will not give birth to another. Why the Theatre was discouraged

(16) A portable chair. "I had a Tonjon, or open palanquin, in which I rode."—Mrs. Sherwood's Autobiography (1804).

(17) Yule and Burnell (*Hobson Jobson*) give a quotation from Beaumont and Fletcher (circ. 1624) in which the phrase a Griffin gentleman is applied to a *novus homo*.

I am at a loss to say, for surely a more rational source of amusement cannot be devised. But its merit would not have been merely of the negative kind, for it would, in my opinion, have been actively beneficial. It would have allured many from their Bottle, & promoted temperance; it would have drawn many from the Card Table, & checked dissipation and it would have saved others from grosser pursuits. To these obvious advantages I know not what Government had to oppose, but certain it is that on the same Boards where once King Richard fought, where Macbeth was hailed with such "prophetic Greeting" and where sweet Desdemona died, the gentle Messieurs Roworth & Co. now dispose of *Europe China & Country goods*. In short "the welltrod stage" is now an Auction Room (18). The Panorama as it was a mere gratification of vision is not so much to be regretted. It failed for want of Patronage, for when it had been once seen, it had been seen for ever.

The grand morning lounge in Calcutta, and which, of its kind, exceeds anything in England, is the Europe Shops. Here at the view are seen the most elegant productions of the four quarters of the Globe displayed in splendid profusion. I do not believe there is a single article either of use or ornament which their shops will not afford, from a Bottle of oatmeal up to a service of plate. The principle one (at least the most elegant) is that of Messrs. Lawtie and Goulds (19). The Rooms are of the largest dimensions and the goods are arranged in the most tasty manner. Here you may for hours lounge up and down and feast your Eyes with the Contemplation of the best prints and paintings or turn to another part of the Room and examine whole folios of Caricatures. You may take a Chair and dip into the most recent publications. You may taste a Cheese, or read the history of the County where it was made; you may contemplate painted Beauties on Canvass, or fall in love with painted Beauties who are gazing at them; you may buy a mouse trap, or dip into the Newgate Calender; you may scar with a poet, and partake of his Heaven; or dive into the Cellars with a Sircar, and taste the Beer; you may buy a sword or the preliminaries of peace. You may read the life of a pick pocket, or the administration of Mr. Pitt. You may buy ten thousand Rupees worth of articles or walk out without any thing and give equal apparent satisfaction. In short it is the most agreeable lounge in the world, but at the same time the most tempting one; in everything there is the fatal serpent offering you the forbidden fruit. Every thing is conducted in silence and with regularity, the prices are all marked on the respective articles and you merely say "send this to my House." A stranger can do the same. You know that we never have

(18) The "New Theatre," which was erected in 1775, stood to the north-west corner of what is now Lyon's Range. An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 1, 1808, commemorates its disappearance. Gopi Mohan Tagore, having "lately purchased the house and building formerly called the Theatre, wherein Mr. Roworth established an auction," announces that he has constructed several buildings which "he intends for a New Bazar, known by the name of the New China Bazar."

(19) In January 1806 the sale of Mr. Richmond Thackeray's property "at his house in Chowringhee" is announced by Messrs. Lawtie and Goulds to take place on the 10th of that month.

the value of a farthing of money in our pockets in this Country, the Bills are therefore sent to our Houses at the end of the month for payment, tho' three months credit is allowed after which they charge Interest at the Rate of 12 per cent. per annum. This system is productive of much evil to very young Men, for were they under the necessity of paying *ready* money the Genius of economy might tie their purses in such Gordian Knots as would, in the undoing, give them time to reflect on their extravagance. It is so very easy to say "send this to my House" and the mere verbal sound of a hundred Rupees does not to them appear so tremendous as the hundred real Shiners. In short you may from their Repositories furnish a House from Top to bottom with the most tasty magnificence, and by the same said supply your Table with Luxuries "more than Eastern princes know." But this is not all, you may here also deck the "human form divine" of either gender [with] Hats, Boots, Shoes, Gowns, Caps, &c., &c. To have an adequate idea of these places they must be seen, my description is a mere outline of a grand picture. There are five or six of these principle Shops, besides others of inferior Note, and those kept by Chinamen and Natives but as these are as Rushlights to the Sun I need not describe them. It is the Captains and officers of Indiamen who supply the shops, tho' sometimes these Traders commission their Investments from England. It sometimes happens that the Indiamen arrive while the market is still glutted with Europe goods, in which case the shop keepers will not buy but at very reduced prices which the Captains and others not being inclined to take they are obliged [to] retail and thus literally open shops.

For the Ladies there is another attraction in the Milliners Shops, which are kept by European Women and merely exhibit female trifles, &c. They are, I am told, very expensive, and woe betide the poor Husband if *he* is fond, and *she* foolish. These shops are kept and business regulated as in the first rate places of the kind in England. I have I believe, now mentioned the only two morning lounges which Calcutta offers to the Ladies. The remainder of their leisure hours they must trifle away at home or pass in visiting, on the Etiquette of which I shall speak anon. The Gentlemen are better off, (tho' not much so) for besides the public auctions (which by the by are not in *this* Country the genteelst or pleasantest of all Resorts) they have the Livery stables where they may see the finest Horses that Asia can produce. There is also a weekly sale of these animals at the Riding School kept by Mr. De L'étang, where you may purchase Cattle of all description from a Rozinante worth fifty Rupees, up to a Bucephalus at five thousand. There are also in Calcutta many Billiard Tables both public and private, and it is a favorite and universal game in India, for which Country it seems well adapted being a fine exercise without any exposure to the Sun, &c. Besides these means of beguiling the *Enemy* there is also a Tennis Court which in the Cold weather affords a most delightful recreation, at the same time there are likewise matches at Cricket, hunting and Racing.

This last is disapproved of by Government, and it is in consequence dwindling to nothing. The public Reason assigned was this. There is about

sixteen miles from Calcutta a place called Serampore which is a Danish factory and consequently out of the limits of our power. To this place fly all those whose circumstances are involved in Ruin, as they are there completely safe from their Creditors. Among this class of Men were many sporting Characters who used on Sundays (when the law is dead) to repair to Calcutta and its vicinity and enter into the mania of Horse-racing. This was certainly improper, and was justly checked; but still I do not think it was a sufficient Reason for frowning at the amusement altogether.

But the grand amusement in the Cold Season for both sexes is Dancing; this may be considered as the staple article in the market of pleasure. Balls, dances and hops both public and private are very frequent, & if a Man be generally acquainted he may, I think, partake of this exercise almost every night in the week. The Ladies are fond of it to excess and I believe would willingly continue it all the year round if the Gentlemen were as agreeable (20). As it is I have seen them dancing on "feverish Nights" when the pearly drops have trickled down their *all-a-plaster* (very bad) Necks in showery profusion, notwithstanding the aid of Punkahs &c &c. This is amusement!!! I am almost of opinion (tho' should I express it *here* I should have all the Belles about my Ears) that even the Cold weather is not sufficiently cold for such jumping.

The next thing to be mentioned, if indeed it properly comes under this head, is Dinner parties. These are extremely frequent and very pleasant. They are conducted of course much in the same style as in England, but with more uniform luxury. The general hour is in the Cold weather from half past six to half past seven and at all other times from half past seven to eight. A Lady generally has two Beaux to take her to Table which she contrives to make two strings to her Bow (a vile pun). Our food at this meal is chiefly English (or the same as in England), interspersed with the Country dishes I have before mentioned. The Drink is universally water, and the wine as universally Claret notwithstanding its high cost but there is nothing else calculated for this Climate: a pint of port would throw a Man into a fever, and Madeira is too strong to be drank freely. Claret is imbibed with great liberality, being drank out of very large sized Glasses of which I suppose a Bottle does not contain more than six or seven. This article forms the chief expense in house keeping. The price of a Chest containing twelve dozen is from 550 to 700 Rupees or from 40 to 50 per dozen, and sometimes should the Investments arrive late, much more. Not a very large party will drink two, three, or four dozen of wine and I think it a fair calculation that Claret costs a person in Calcutta, if he is hospitable, 400 Rupees per mensem, which is exactly £600 per annum. Such is the expense of one article and if to this you add madeira (the usual white wine) Beer & sometimes Hock and Champagne the charges for Wines will appear very great.

(20) Cf.: *Englishman* of November 17, 1924: "The enterprise of hotel and restaurant proprietors has provided us with regular dance halls. We now dance every night, not only after dinner, but before dinner, and even during dinner."

There is something in my opinion to be found fault with at all Anglo-Indian Tables, which is the vast profusion of Meats they always exhibit. This arises from provisions being so very cheap; & indeed, at Country stations, is dictated by necessity, for to have mutton you must kill a Sheep, & then prudence tells you to dress it while it remains good. In the Hot weather with every care Meat will not keep above 24 hours. At Christmas time I have eat it three & four days old. What goes from Table is (sad to say) thrown to the Dogs & fowls of Heaven, for thus our profusion ends. Our Servants deem every thing defiled which has been on our Table, and consequently will not partake thereof. This is a prejudice of the Religion both of Mahomed and Brama. I have witnessed on one Table joints of Venison, Beef, Veal, mutton and pork besides the usual concomitants of poultry &c &c.

Soon after the second course has been placed on the Table the Gentlemen's *Hookahs* are brought in by the respective Hookahburdars. A handsome Carpet is first spread behind the Chair to prevent the "Snake" being soiled, the Hookahbuardar then puts the Snake under the arm of the Chair (for in this Country all our Chairs have arms) into the Gentleman's hand and he begins puffing away (21). The Hookah bottom contains the water, thro' which the Smoke is drawn by the Snake. The Surpoosh (22) contains the fire which is placed on a little Earthen tile and under that tile (at the bottom of it) the Tobacco is stuck (for it is a paste). The Hookah bottom is generally of cut-glass, silver, or a metal called "Vitey" (22A). This is a handsome black composition, and when inlaid with silver looks very well. Great dashers have sometimes sported Gold ones. The Surpooshes are either gold or silver as is also the mouth piece. The Snake (by the bye this name is our own, the real word being Nycha or Nul) is a flexible Tube made in the following manner. A Rope is put thro' about sixteen feet of spiral Bell-wire and this Wire is covered with the Bark of a Tree somewhat resembling the Birch Bark, and as thin as paper. When the Snake by this covering is become about three quarters of an inch in diameter the Bark itself is covered by several rolls of white Cloth and lastly is ornamented as fancy directs, with Gold and silver thread, silk or any thing else. A snake costs about 3 or 10 Rupees (tho' they may be made as dear as 30, 40 & 50) and will last three months, it then becomes foul by the continual smoke passing thro' it having corroded the Wire. The Tobacco undergoes great preparation. It is first soaked and beat to pieces till it becomes of the consistence of a paste. It is then mixt up with Rose-water, Musk, Raisins the fruit of the plaintain, persian apples, or whatever pleases your palate best. Afterwards it is put into a large Earthen pot well covered up and buried

(21) "In former days it was a dire offence to step over another person's Hookah-carpet and Hookah-Snake. Men who did so intentionally were called out."—Major-General R. H. Keatinge, V.C. (1825—1904): quoted in *Hobson—Jobson*.

(22) *Surpoosh*—properly, cover. The term *chillum* is usually applied to the receiver.

(22A) Hind, *bidri*, from Bidar in the Deccan, where the composition was chiefly made. The ground work is of pewter alloyed with one fourth copper: This is damascened in silver, and the pewter ground then blackened.

some feet under Ground where it must remain a month or two and will then be fit for use. It is the pleasantest thing in the World & the tobacco thus prepared diffuses a very fragrant smell throughout the Room. The noise which the water makes in the bottom, when the Smoke is drawn thro' it, is like the noise made by Boys when blowing soap bladders in a Tobacco pipe and if there are many smokers in the Room is very audible (23). It is certainly the most elegant way of using Tobacco. I have seen two or three Ladies who constantly smoke and do not wish to see it again, it is too masculine. The Natives universally and invariably smoke, from Childhood to old age, from the Beggar to the prince; tobacco, opium, and other intoxicating Drugs. This is a long and uninteresting digression, let us return to the Dinner Table, where however, little more remains to be described. The Ladies soon retire and the Gentlemen

“—frequent & full, a dry divan

“ Close in firm circle, and sit ardent in

“ For serious drinking.”

The Bottle goes round rapidly and they join the Ladies in about an hour. If the Season does not admit dancing there are Cards, music and singing, walking, talking, and making love should it be after a fresh importation. Suppers are by no means general. Tea and Coffee are handed about, & the Gentlemen have their Hookahs brought up into the Drawing Room. The Company usually drop off one by one without saying a word, the Candles quiver in their sockets, and this brilliant pageant “ leaves not a rack behind.”

A House in India lighted up makes a dazzling appearance, for I am to tell you that all the walls are plain white wash or Madrass Stucco which takes a beautiful polish, the reflection from innumerable wax Candles is therefore great. Oil expressed from the Cocoonut is sometimes used and gives a very fine steady light, emitting no disagreeable odour being as pure as water. Every thing in this Country is so impregnated with Nitre that paper, &c., could not adhere to the walls. In the present state they are certainly not very elegant but custom renders them less obvious. There is also another Eye-sore in our Rooms which is having no *ceilings* properly so called; you look up and see nothing but beams and rafters made as neat as beams and Rafters can be, which, however, is not saying much. The walls are decorated with prints and wall-shades (glass vase lamps) for the Candles. I should have observed that the Punkah takes off from the unpleasantness of our Roofs. There is seldom more than one (and often none) Room in a House with a *boarded* floor, the rest are all brick and mortar, and all covered with a most beautiful kind of straw-colored Mat, made of a very fine Reed about as thick as a Crow's quill.

(23) “ Imagine half the men of a large company, puffing and blowing and the Hookahs making a most extraordinary noise, some a deep bass, others, a bubbling treble—the variety of cadence depends, I believe, on the length of the snake and the quantity of water poured into the receptacle for it.”—Lady Nugent's Journal, February 28, 1812.

The next amusement to be mentioned is the Evening drive round the Course (I should here observe that tho' it is called driving on the *Course*, the Company really never go on the *Course*, preferring a hard, red-hot, dusty Road to a smooth green turf, such is caprice!) About a quarter of an hour after Sun-set the Carriages gradually come out till at last all the City may be said to be assembled; high and low, rich and poor, great and small, all mix promiscuously in this varied scene. There are Vehicles of all kinds, Coaches, Chariots, Landaus, Sociables, Phaetons, Curricles, Buggies, &c. Some of the Equipages are truly splendid. Here you may see some fond but awkward equestrian risking his Neck to keep up with the Landau of his beloved; there some lone Priscilla (past her teens) rolling in vain her sparkling orb, to allure some wealthy Nabob. Here Youth and Beauty is doomed to drag the Chain of three score not lighter to her by being gilt. Antiquated three score sits by his blooming Bride like an Egyptian Mummy linked to the Venus of Apelles. Poor Girl! have all your happy dreams ended in this? but could you avoid it? you were told he was Rich, and then suffered yourself to be persuaded that wealth and happiness are allied. Here comes another pair. Lothario saw Maria last week at a Ball, he was instantly smitten, asked her to dance, squeezed her hand, called on her the next day, and asked the following. They were married, and now think their happiness eternal, simple fools! Look at Flirtilla with her usual attendant poor Constant, what a pity it is so much worth, generosity, talents, and virtue, should dance attendance on a jilt who will only have him provided she fails in catching a richer prize. But she is pretty, and he romantic. Who comes here in such a dusty fusty musty, rusty, disgraceful Carriage? Oh that is Mammon, poor Man, he has not yet quite amassed two crores of Rupees and you know with two millions sterling a Man can do but little! This young Gentleman knows how to make use of the gifts of fortune, I see he has four Horses in his Equipage and everything in equal style. Yes, that is the youthful Clodio, a writer, and at present receives three hundred Rupees a month!!—What a Crowd has gathered yonder, I wonder what has happened, be easy, it is only Affectalia in a swoon, she has read that "pity is akin 'o love" and wishes to reduce it to practice. The *Veil* is too transparent, indeed it is little more than a *Net*. Here comes a haughty Beauty; she has "heaven in her Eye and in every Gesture dignity and love," but unfortunately she knows it, and knowing it is as inaccessible as a Priestess of Diana. She has refused Shikust because he was too old, Narcissus because he was too young Leo because he was too Rich, Romeo because he was too poor, Phaon because he asked too late, and Tarquin because he asked too soon. She has now frightened the Settlement, and notwithstanding her Roseate charms may hereafter lead Apis in the Regions under the dominion of the old Gentleman in black.

* And such are some of the characters who frequent this drive, to describe them all were an endless task, and if they could be described were useless. Coaches, &c., are driven by Native coachmen in Livery and the syces

(that is the Men who clean and take care of the Horses, for each Horse has one besides a Grass-cutter) run by the side of the Carriage. I have known a syce run with a Buggy and fast trotting Horse eight, ten and twelve miles without stopping. Once I recollect being engaged to Breakfast a few Miles from Calcutta when being rather late I was under the necessity of going in a brisk canter the whole way. My Syce took hold of one of my Stirrup leathers and accompanied me all the journey. They have great speed and perseverance. The course continues in a bustle until it becomes dark when the Company gradually return to Town.

I believe I have now described all the principle amusements of Calcutta. I should however have told you in speaking of the Evening drive that the Course is sometimes partially deserted for the Fort (which is close by) where people resort to hear the Bands of Music should there happen to be a Regiment having one. You now see that altho' Calcutta is a gay place it has no variety of gaiety and the Votary of pleasure may sigh and say "to day is yesterday returned."

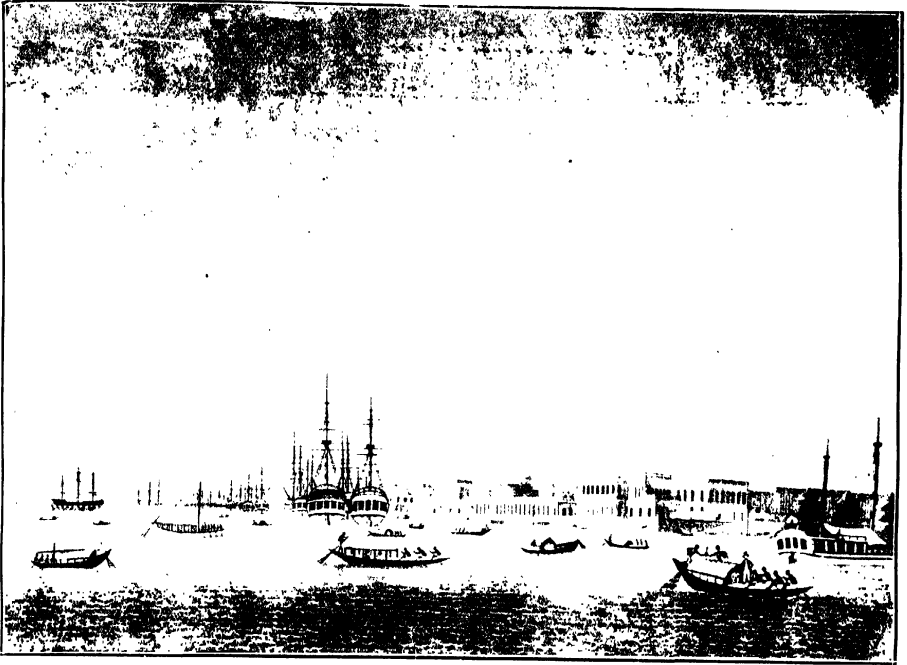
By the bye I had nearly omitted another lounge. This is the public Evenings, which are a kind of Levees held once a week by three or four of the head Ladies in the settlement. They are merely Conversation parties, but are pleasant in as much as you are able at one view to see and converse with all the Beauty and fashion of the settlement. The Company begin to assemble about half past ten, or eleven o'clock, lounge, talk, walk, and gossip for about two hours when they sit down to a cold supper, which however, is merely a polite method of telling the Gentry it is time to retire. I should observe that you only stay supper by invitation which is given by a request to "send away your Hat" (24). Coats are indispensable at these parties.

In Calcutta as in all luxurious Cities Morpheus is a potent Deity in the Morning when you seldom see any of the Ladies out. This is the time when the *Gentlemen* ride on Horseback. Children also go out at this Hour with their black Nurses in neat spring-hang Carriages drawn by Oxen. Every Gentleman's Child in this Country has two or three Servants, Men or Women. Babies have their wet-Nurses, for Ladies in India never perform this maternal duty, the Climate is their excuse. I have generally described our goings on in this City, what little remains I shall collect under

GENERAL REMARKS ON CALCUTTA.

Calcutta stands on the River Hoogly a very little way above Fort William; it occupies a great extent of Ground because every house, with the exception of Writers Buildings, stands separate and detached. This is highly necessary, and beneficial in such a hot Climate. Tho' the Town is on the Banks of a River very few persons have the benefit of it, the shores being occupied by warehouses, wharfs, &c., &c., &c. The streets are wide, large, and airy;

(24) This custom is mentioned by Mrs. Fay, whose letters describe the Calcutta of Warren Hastings (1780-1785).



WEST VIEW OF CALCUTTA: 1805
From a sketch by James Moffat.



CALCUTTA FROM FORT WILLIAM: 1807.

made of Bricks pounded into small pieces, and since Lord Wellesley's arrival all regularly and continually watered. Black Calcutta (by which I mean that part where the Natives reside) does not at all interfere with the European part, a great comfort, for the Natives are very dirty and their habitations are mere straw Huts. Our Houses are on the outside and inside all plastered and white-washed, which is a great annoyance to the Eyes on a Sunny day.

For the conveyance of heavy goods and merchandize, a Carriage called a Hackery is used, which is a mere Bamboo frame fixed on a pair of Wheels and drawn by Oxen. They are "dreadful harmony" for the wheels having neither iron, nor grease, make a most horrid creaking. During the day palanquins are the general conveyances, unless the extent of the journey should render a Carriage necessary. About ten o'clock is the general office hour, and continues till four, five, or six, during which time few are idle. For it must be remembered that every Englishman in India has something to do; it is not like London where many have only to *spend* fortunes, *here* we are all busy in making them. Most of the Ladies however are accessible should inclination induce you to visit. The Etiquette of visitting in Calcutta requires that the *stranger* shall make the first call, and this neglected he may remain for years without a single invitation. This custom in Calcutta (and there only) is adhered to with rigid scrupulosity. If the stranger is a married man his visit entitles his Lady to be visited by the other Ladies immediately.

Calcutta does not boast of many public buildings; they are chiefly Lord Wellesley's Palace (which indeed is a name too little for it), the Court House for the Supreme Court of Judicature, the Jail, the orphan school, &c., &c., &c. The mention of the last bids me speak on a subject which it is necessary to allude to in describing the customs of this Country. It is a very general practise for Englishmen in India to entertain a *Cara amica* of the Country. This forms a complete and separate establishment, she dwells in a distinct but adjacent mansion and has her own establishment of female Servants, &c. Like all other Women of India she seldom or never goes beyond the precincts of her own dwelling. It is connections of this Nature which tend to fill the schools above mentioned. It has however lately received a blow by the foundation of a *Civil fund* (supported by monthly subscriptions) for the support of orphans and widows of Civil servants as well as for the Civil servants themselves should ill-health compel them to return to England without possessing adequate means. In the Rules for the establishment of this fund is a clause which expressly declares that illegitimate Children shall not partake of its advantages. This point occasioned a long and obstinate controversy, but as the opposers to the admission of these children had truth and morality on their side they were victorious, tho' at the same time the other party had some strong grounds to go upon.

Besides the School I have mentioned there are several other private ones for the education of this description of Children in case their Fathers should not choose (from any motive) to send them to England. They are an unfortunate Race, and it is almost too true that the sins of the Parents descend

to them, for they are sadly neglected, and frowned on under the appellation of *Half-cast*. Some females, favored by Beauty and a good education in England, have been well married but these instances are not common. Their Color betrays them wherever they go, and I know *now* that many of my schoolfellows at Tait's were of this description. By saying it is these connections which tend to fill the orphan school I do not of course mean that all of this cast are to become orphans or that all orphans will be obliged to depend on that for a subsistence. The school is exclusively for the orphans of European soldiers, or officers who may die not leaving sufficient to support their offspring. It is kept up by a contribution from all officers and surgeons (who are considered military) at I believe one per cent. per mensem on their respective salaries and they have no option of withholding it.

Calcutta has two churches, one a modern erection where Morning service is performed, the other an older and smaller Building where prayers are read in the Evening, and these two are the only Churches (protestant ones) in this part of India (25). In the *outward* forms of Religion, Englishmen in this Country are rather lax, indeed except in Calcutta all devotion must be private, and which is surely as acceptable. At some of the large military Cantonments there are Chaplains who read prayers to the European troops.

Calcutta and its environs is very deficient in drives there being only three or four Roads. On Horseback you may go where you please as the Country has neither hedges, fences nor enclosures of any kind. One of the pleasantest drives is down to Garden Reach which I have before mentioned. The Houses are not many, but are completely rural being each a little Estate. They serve as a Sunday retirement from the City, and are from three to four miles out of Town. When invited you generally spend the whole day there, with cloathes, &c., &c. In dressing at another Gentlemans House we send every thing, even to a Boot Jack, Soap, Towels, &c., &c. When there you do as you like, Read, write, play at Billiards, (as almost all these Houses have a Table) or in short as fancy may direct. In the Evening there is driving or walking about the pleasure grounds which are all very neatly laid out. After Dinner you return to Town or take a Bed as circumstances may be.

I have before told you how we are improving in manufactures and mercantile arts, but English *eatables* and *drinkables* must always form a staple article in private investments, for these we cannot make. I have seen Hams, &c., tried but never with any success. I know not the Reason.

You must take as universal and invariable that a Gentleman never *walks* in Calcutta, and even the wives [sic] of common European soldiers sometimes ride in hired Palanquins. They are the delight of sailors when they get on shore, and you may see a dozen of them roaring drunk running about in these conveyances.

At all Houses in Calcutta there is a Man called a "Derwan" (corresponding with an English Porter) who is constantly at the Gate and who when

(25) T: "modern erection" is St. John's Church: by the "older and smaller building" Kierlander's Mission Church appears to be intended.

a Visitor arrives cries out as loud as he can bawl in the Language of the Country, "There is a stranger arrived, go and give information," on which an *Hircarrah* runs to the Gate, learns the name of the Party and informs his master.

Six Bearers (*Kahars*) run with the Palanquin, four supporting it and one carrying a *Chattah* (umbrella), the other is to relieve them in turn.

In speaking of the *Hookah* I should have observed that it is smoked after every meal, and by some Gentlemen all day long.

A Gun is fired from the Fort every day in the year at day break and at eight o'clock in the Evening during the cold season, and at nine at other times.

I have now I believe collected every thing worth remarking in Calcutta, if anything else occurs to my recollection I will write it. At present I quit this scene of dust and dissipation, folly and frolick, and retire to the still and peaceful shades of the Country.

AMUSEMENTS IN THE COUNTRY.

Under this head I have of course much less to say than under the article Calcutta. Before I proceed to tell what little there is to be told, I think it necessary to say that the subordinate Cities, such as *Dacca*, *Patna*, &c., &c., are neither Town nor Country, but partake of both without being either. They have neither the gay frolicks, turbulent delights, frequent Balls, and large Companies of Calcutta; nor the mild amusements, quiet pleasures and snug parties of the Country. All retired stations in this Country are alike in general, the only difference being a member or two or more to the society, or the near vicinity to a City where society may be had.

This premised I shall only describe *Mymensing* to you, and think you will thence be able to form a tolerably correct idea of Country living in India. I should however say that *Mymensing* is, if any thing, more retired than other stations, for the *Burrampooter* River not leading to any station above us we have not the advantage of seeing occasional travellers, a variety which some of the *Zillahs* possess. Our chief amusement here arises from the sports of the field, but as this can only be an amusement during the Cold weather, we are for two thirds of the year in a kind of vacuum. I will briefly describe my mode of living since I have been Register. I get up between five and six and mount my Horse for a Ride, return about seven, bathe and dress for Breakfast to which I sit down about nine o'clock. This meal is soon dispatched, and then comes my *Hookah*, I smoke and read or write until eleven when the "Nazir" of the Court informs me that business is ready. I then get into my Palanquin, or *Tonjon*, and proceed to Court where I remain till four, five or six, according to the season of the year. On leaving Court I take a Ride, or drive or walk or lounge, until the light begins to fade, when I dress for Dinner. I get into my *Tonjon* and go whenever Dinner may be and get to Bed again by eleven o'clock. This is literally my life, with exception

to changes made by little sporting excursions, or an occasional visit to Dacca. In England it is thought we have scarcely anything to do, but from what I have now told you, you will perceive that we are occupied almost the whole day and this is always the case with the exception of Sundays and holidays. By the word *we* I mean all those in the Judicial Department, for the other branches are comparatively very easy.

The whole of the Society of Mymensing, if all situations were occupied, would be six, vizt. Judge and Magistrate, Register, Assistant to do, Collector, Assistant to Do, and Surgeon, at present we only muster four, there being no Doctor nor Assistant to the Register (26). In addition to these four we at present have a Lady, sister in Law to our Judge. Our party you see is small but except twice a year when the Circuit Judges arrive it is never larger. There are no other Europeans in the district, and Dacca, distant above a hundred miles, is the nearest station. I suppose our Zillah is as big as a large County in England, and is pretty well populated. About twelve or fourteen years ago it was under the Judge of Dacca but the jurisdiction being found too extensive it was formed into a separate District. It is one of the lowest parts of Bengal, but being situated on such a noble River is uncommonly dry and healthy. You will wonder how we can find conversation considering the smallness and sameness of our Party, but our Evenings are I assure you very cheerful. The Post, which comes in every day about five in the afternoon, generally brings letters for some of us, and, besides this, we have Newspapers three or four times in the week. It is seldom that young servants at retired places like this keep House unless they are married. The Judge and Collector are the two who entertain, either alternately or otherwise, as it may be settled.

In the Country you must have every thing within yourself; by which I mean that there are not any markets to supply Meat, Poultry, Bread, &c., &c. A complete farm yard is therefore necessary, in which you fatten your own oxen, sheep, Calves, kids, Deer, fowls, Ducks, Geese, Turkeys, Rabbits, &c., &c. All, or most, of these articles can be procured in the villages, but not fat. Fowls for instance are in superabundance every where, and are of three kinds; Chickens or half grown of which 30 or 40 can be had for a Rupee, middling sized Roasting fowls 20 for a Rupee, and the very largest 12 or 16 for the same money. A sheep costs a Rupee and an old ox from 4 to 8. Before you exclaim on the cheapness of these articles you must recollect that their cost has much increased ere they become fit for the Table. Bread and butter are of course always made at home and are in every respect as good as the finest England can produce; our bread is made of wheat, and the place of

(26) These notes would seem to have been written above the year 1805: See note (30). John Stracey was Judge and Magistrate from December 27, 1802 until March, 21, 1803. William Parker from May 16, 1803 until July 27, 1804, and James Rattray from July 28, 1804 until March, 1807. Francis le Gros was Collector from 1795 until 1806 when he was succeeded by Jame. Law. The assistant to the Collector was C. W. Steer (August 1804 to September, 1806).

yeast is supplied by a juice distilled from the Toddy Tree, a juice which the Natives (some of the vilest) make use of to promote intoxication. Butter is made by pouring the cream into very large open-mouthed Bottles, which are closely stopped, and then gently thumped up and down on the ground until the liquid becomes consistent. I think this article is as good here as the finest I ever eat in England. Bread and butter are of course made every day. Vegetables of all kinds are produced in our own Gardens, and, to be brief, your own House and farm yard must supply you with every thing in the *eating line* or you must be content to go without it.

Our amusements in the sporting way are various as we have almost every kind of game, and this is the case all over India. This great plenty is easily accounted for when we consider that few of the Natives are at all attached to the sports of the field, and that the Hindoos form a large portion of the inhabitants of the East, and among whom it is incorrect to destroy what has partaken of Life. The most universal sport is wild Boar hunting, which is thought very fine, in as much as the animal is fleet, wild, savage, and resolute to the last extremity (27). I have seen Bears come down to the charge with many spears sticking in them; and they will in general fight till the loss of blood renders them faint. They reside chiefly in high grass plains where there are bushes and pieces of stagnant water. There is something grand in first rousing a Boar, for the grass being as high as your Horse's Belly, and very often much higher, you cannot see the game until you are close upon it. When he perceives his danger, he gives a loud grunt and sets off as hard as he can go. Tally ho! you ride after him at a strong gallop, and by keeping this pace you soon blow him for they are in general very fat. It is not until he gets tired that he begins to play; when this is the case, and the Hunter has approached very near, the Boar turns and charges, and this is the moment to deliver the Spear. An experienced Hunter seldom misses, and when he has planted his weapon he wheels off to let the next come up and try his luck, and so it goes on until the Boar falls, tho' they are sometimes killed by one spear. Their flesh is rank, and not good to eat, tho' that of the wild Pig is very savory. These animals are all black with the exception of the little young ones who have a kind of black and red stripe over their Bodies. It must not be concealed that there is some danger in this sport; first on account of the ground in which there are often Buffaloe pits and holes, which are completely hid by the high grass, and secondly because your Horse if not bold may suddenly stand still or be impelled by fear to run away. We generally preserve the Tusks as Trophies. The common height of a Boar is 30 to 40 inches. I

(27) Pig-sticking reached its zenith in Lower Bengal during the sixties and seventies of the last century. Moorshedabad and the adjoining districts were then studded with prosperous indigo concerns: and the rafters of the spacious factory houses rang with the rousing chorus of "The Mighty Boar." Civilians were also great at the sport. Mr. F. B. Simson, Collector of Noakhali, once refused a transfer on the ground that he had made elaborate preparations for the next season's pig-sticking. Indigo is now dead: and Civilians in Bengal are engrossed in less stimulating occupations.

have known sixteen and twenty killed in one Morning all speared for it is accounted *unsportsmanlike* to kill a *boar* by any other means. If in the chase they happen to be driven through a Village they will wreck their anger on the first they meet, Man, Woman, and Child, and sometimes cut them in a most dreadful manner. Instances are not uncommon of Natives being killed by them. It is on the whole a manly sport.

We also sometimes spear Deer but most often course them with Grey hounds or shoot them. We have all the varieties [sic] nearly of this animal. With the exception of Snipe, and quail, all our shooting is from the back of an Elephant. A good party will perhaps have with them a Dozen Elephants and these all move along the plains in a strait line about 50 or 60 yards asunder, the intervals being filled up by rows of men. By this means all the game is roused and must be fortunate if it escape after running the gauntlet past all the Elephants. Of Birds we have great variety, vizt Partridges of three kinds, Cocks and hens in their wild state (than which nothing can be finer eating). *Floriķen* I believe peculiar to this Country, tho' supposed by some to be a species of the Bustard; they resemble each other only by having the same kind of foot. This Bird affords the most delightful shooting, and as good eating when it is killed. Its wings are milk white, its neck and Breast jet black and its Body a Beautiful mottled Red game color. It is as big or bigger than a *large* fowl.

Buffaloes are found very often in great Herds, when they seldom afford much sport, as they run away the moment they perceive the Elephants. It sometimes, however, happens that a single *Male* one is found on a large grass plain, and occasionally these will attack the Elephants in the most determined manner. They come down on the charge in a full gallop, with their Noses to the Ground which brings their horns into a projecting Horizontal position. In this manner they will annoy an Elephant very much, and I know an instance of their having killed one. Their Horns are immensely large each forming nearly a semicircle. Many useful things are manufactured from them. Buffaloes are a most destructive animal, as a herd sallying out on the cultivation during the Night will destroy whole crops of Rice and other Grain. In some parts of this District where they are very numerous, the Natives are under the necessity of keeping fires round their fields during the Nights. This is an effectual guard, these animals being much afraid of fire.

Rhinoceros's are sometimes met with but are not very common. Tygers and Leopards are met with very frequently, and sometimes afford uncommon sport. I have been told of a Tyger who was roused by a party of Gentlemen out shooting that he actually attacked and wounded *seven* of their Elephants. In general however they are not inclined to make any attack unless in their own defence or to satisfy the ravenous calls of hunger when they carry off Men, Women, Children and Cattle or anything that may come in their way. Deer are generally found in their vicinity and I imagine form a large article of their food. These animals will I dare say become scarce in the course of a few years as Government pay a reward of ten Rupees for every head, which

induces many people to earn their livelihood entirely by setting snares and catching Tygers. They find out their Haunts and there set a kind of bow and arrow which goes off at the slightest touch, and is so contrived that it must hit the *toucher* unless it finds security in its minuteness. The arrow is tipped with such a deadly poison, that the animal survives the wound a very short time and is generally found in the vicinity of the snare. I once saw 75 heads brought in at once, which were worth to the destroyer 750 Rupees. Numbers of these animals are killed by Gentlemen, who of course let their *Mahouts* (or Elephant Drivers) reap the profit on the Heads as they shared the Danger, an exception to this, however, gave occasion to the following lines which I insert as I think them neat. They were made on a Gentleman in the Civil Service whose income amounted to a lac of Rupees a year.

If S. . . . kills puss, and takes his fees

The State must pay him ten Rupees;

If puss kills S. . . . the case is clear.

The State will save a Lac a year;

Since saving then is all our plan

Live Royal Brute! Die brutal Man!

Wild Elephants are also in great numbers, and more particularly in the lower parts of Bengal. They inhabit the most deep recesses of thick Forests in consequence of which they are seldom seen. I have never seen but one roving about in a complete state of Nature. As I have in one of my Letters particularly described the manner of catching these animals I need not Repeat it here. I have never read a faithful description of them, nor seen an exact picture in any Natural History which has come under my observation. I have been given to understand by Natives competent to speak on the subject that Elephants even in their wild state preserve a kind of order among themselves, obeying a Leader and congregating together. They carry their young two years which arrive at maturity very slowly. They have seldom been known to breed in a domestic state. The young one sucks with its mouth like all other animals not as has been erroneously stated by first drawing the milk into its trunk and then conveying it to the mouth. These creatures are very easily tamed, and when tamed are unparalleled in docility and obedience. They seem to possess some faculty beyond Instinct tho' it does not amount to absolute Reason. They readily comprehend the orders of their *Mahouts* (or Drivers) and obey them with unexampled promptitude. The Driver sits astride on the Neck and guides them with a Crooked iron which he holds in his hand. Their pace is a long walk, and when put out they will keep a Horse in a smart canter. At the command of their Drivers they will break down down very large trees, which they do by pressing their heads on it, assisted by one of their feet. If it is necessary merely to clear away the boughs they lift up their Trunks and tear them down and will then carry them away. Their great height makes it necessary for them to lay down when we wish to mount, which we then do by means of a Ladder placed against them. This, you see, refutes another silly notion that an

Elephant when once down cannot rise again without assistance. In going down very steep places they extend out their Legs and so gradually slide down, they are I believe never known to fall or stumble. If teized by Flies or Insects they will take the branch of a Tree and brush them off; when at home they are fond of covering their backs with dust and dirt which they throw up with their Trunks. The Males only have the long tushes but there are some Males called *Muckna's* who are without them as well as the females. Their chief food in a tame state is grass, Plaintain Trees and Rice of which they are generally allowed ten seers or 20 lb per diem. Their Drink is of course water; which they suck up in their Trunks and then convey to the mouth. Their general height is from 6.10 to 9 feet.

Bears are also found in many parts of the Country (28). Foxes are in great plenty but much smaller than those in England. Hares are of two kinds, one, the common sort and another which we call the "Mountain Hare" from the circumstance of its generally being found in the vicinity of Hills. This is a curious little animal of a dark brown color, long rough Hair, having little pink Ears like a Rat, and indeed about the Head very much resembles that animal. Jackalls are found in abundance everywhere. They generally remain quiet and concealed during the Day, but at Night sally out, and prowl about Villages, or any place where there is a chance of procuring food. Their howl is one of the most gloomy dismal, melancholy Notes that imagination can conceive. It generally begins from one Jackall in a shrill plaintive sound rising gradually to a certain pitch, when it again sinks, and is then taken up by the whole Troop as a kind of chorus. In the first instance it something resembles the moaning cry of a Child. They attack the peaceful inhabitants of the farm-yard carrying off Docks, geese, fowls &c &c sometimes puppy Dogs, and even young Children. In appearance they are between the Fox and Dog.

I believe I have now said every thing relative to sport which it is necessary to say; I have been rather prolix on the subject as it forms so great a part of our amusement all over India.

Articles which the Country does not afford, such as Wine, Cheese, Hams, &c &c are procured from Calcutta in small Boats. You must understand there is at all times of the year water carriage to almost every part of India which is a great convenience in many points of view. We generally travel (if it is not an Iricism) by *water*, for journeying in a Palanquin, besides the uncomfot of your servants, cloathes Hookah &c &c not being able to keep well up, is extremely unpleasant on account of the Heat. Carriages, or Horses are out of the question for besides the want of Roads, the Sun would be an unsurmountable obstacle, not to say a fatal one. In endeavouring to form an Idea of our manners you cannot too often recollect our bodily

(28) The bear had almost exterminated in Lower Bengal and Behar by 1857. Planters used to hunt them on horse back with dogs, some times dismounting to spear them and some times adm. entering the blow from the saddle.

indolence, not so much produced by positive laziness, as by custom, necessity, and the Climate. We never walk. I cannot fill a sheet of paper in telling you how we amuse ourselves during the Hot & Rainy months for we have literally scarcely any amusements for those seasons. A Billiard Table affords occasional relaxation, and beyond that I have nothing further to mention save Books and the Pen. This dearth of recreation is not however much felt, because all Civil Servants in the Country (and *generally* everywhere) have business to perform, and that business must be done. I have before said that the Judicial line is the most laborious and it can, and does, keep a Man employed nearly the whole day. The Revenue and Commercial lines (29) are much easier, and in consequence afford more leisure hours, I may perhaps say weary ones.

After this description of the Country you will give me credit for some share of Philosophy when I assure you that I seldom or never find the time heavy. However, to speak generally, a Country life in India is dull, gloomy, spiritless & solitary, & a Man doomed to it is much to be pitied if he has not lasting amusements & resources within himself. The Man whose happiness depends upon foreign and external circumstances, will experience many weary hours which he knows not how to employ, and from which he cannot fly. The smallest change in the sameness of a Country life forms an Era, we therefore look forward to the arrival of the Judge (of Circuit) as an event of no small importance. This takes place twice in each year, vizt. July and January. The Judge sometimes brings his family (should he have one) and sometimes not, & resides where he is most intimately acquainted. His stay never exceeds a month but is generally much less. When news of his approach is received his friends dispatch a small Boat with fresh bread, butter, vegetables, &c &c. This is a general custom to all Travellers (Gentlemen Europeans) and at some stations, where they are continually passing these supplies are not a very light tax. It is only in the Cities that there are public Bakers who sell bread, as the Natives do not eat it made in our way. Many Gentlemen, however, travel with their complete establishment of Bakers, buttermen, Cows, Goats, &c &c. Our hours in the Country are much the same as elsewhere, Breakfast from 8 to 10 and Dinner from half past 6 to 8. The intervening meal called Tiffin is not so Common in the Country on account of the great interruption it occasions to business.

Mymensing is something more than a Villiage, having a weekly market, and is increasing rapidly in size and population; but except our dwellings & the Jail there are no brick buildings of any description. The general style is Bamboo and Matts, or mud; the floors or terrace are all mud. The former buildings being dry are very combustible and frequent fires happen in consequence. We have very few Roads, our very longest is thirty miles and has been made during my residence at this place. This work is performed by the convicts. The Roads are made merely by throwing up the Earth

(29) The office of Commercial Resident was abolished in 1833, when the new Charter prohibited trading by the Company, except in the case of Salt and Opium.

from each side so as to raise it above the general level of the Country, & the soil being light and sandy requires continual repair. In places where necessary there are small arches (I cannot dignify them with the name of bridges) but anything beyond is not to be found in this district. Indeed large Roads are not very necessary, for excepting what may belong to Gentlemen at the Station there is not a wheel carriage of any sort, size, kind or description throughout Mymensing. The Natives who do not walk, ride in Palanquins. The District on this side the Burrampooter is almost all one continual flat without a hedge or fence to divide the different cultivations, and is like the common fields in England. To the north we have Hills and mountains which stretch away into Thibet. Our district is best seen in Map No. 6 of Major Rennels Bengal Atlas & you will find the place where we live called *Sowara* (which is the real name of the *village*) about five miles to the south of *Bygonbarry*.

In the absence of wheel carriages, you perhaps wonder how things are transported from one place to another; chiefly, as I before said, by water carriage; but should that not be practicable (which very seldom is the case) on Men's heads or by *Banghy-burdars*, people who carry two Baskets, one fixed to each end of a Bamboo on their shoulder; if the weight is equal at each end, and not very heavy they trot along pretty well. Gentlemen seldom have occasion to travel into the interior of their Districts, unless on sporting parties, and a Native makes very little fuss about it. He merely takes his Mat whereon he sleeps, his Hookah, and a vessel to drink out of, he stops when he finds it convenient and generally meets with hospitality for they are civil to one another. I should not omit to tell you as it is laughable, that a Native generally travels with his shoes in his hand!! this I assure you a fact which I have often witnessed.

Our habitations in the Country as I have before told you, are not always brick Houses properly so called, but are sometimes Bungalows, a word which I know not how to render unless by a Cottage. These are always thatched with straw on the Roof and the walls are sometimes of Bricks, and often of matts. The dimensions and plans of these dwellings of course very according to the taste or purposes of the Builders, & fancy directs the fitting up, sometimes to the extreme of elegance. Many have glass windows besides the Venetians but this is not very common. Where the Bungalows are walled with mats they are generally a little gloomy, the mats being of a dark colour. To obviate this they are sometimes painted, & sometimes covered with plaster & white wash. To hide the sloping Roofs we put up a kind of artificial ceiling made of white Cloth, with a full narrow trimming or vallance all round, these look very, neat and pretty. Where there are not Doors to the inside Rooms (as is frequently the case) we substitute things called *Purdahs* made of Chintz or broad Cloth. They are a kind of curtain which let down when it is necessary to exclude the wind &c. I need not tell you that these habitations only consist of one floor. I have two Bungalows, near to each other, in one of which I sleep

& dress, and in the other sit and eat. The terraces are of brick and mortar raised two or three feet from the level of the ground.

None of our Servants with an exception perhaps to the Sirdar Bearer sleep under the same Roof with us. They have all huts of their own, where they reside with their families. Indeed as every branch of household duty is in particular hands, the Servant whose business it may be goes away when that duty is performed. For instance, when your *Khilmutghar* has waited upon you at Breakfast, and that Repast is over, he goes home until it is time to come back and prepare for the next meal: besides this many of our servants never come into the House at all; among this number are grooms, grasscutters, farm-yard Men, Gardeners &c. &c. These have also their respective huts and houses. The natives of every cast are in their manners, & customs, so totally different from us, that beyond what duty & business compells we can have no association. I believe they privately look on us with a great deal of contempt, and generally believe us to be wanting in Religion, merely I suppose because we have not the idle and superstitious outward forms of worship which they so much pride themselves in. In the *arts* tho' they look on us as Gods, or at least something far above the common Race of Mortals.

Our Horses in this Country are fed on *Gram* & Grass; the former is a kind of Pea, of which a horse consumes about 10 lb. per diem, from 60 to 80 lb. is purchased for a Rupee. We have no oats. The grass is cut fresh every day, for which purpose a distinct servant is kept, and from his employment is called a *grass cutter*. Our stables are made very open and airy, either of brick or mats, but are not fitted up quite in the same manner as those in England, as they have no Racks; the grass or Hay is put into the manger or on the ground. Dry Hay is coming fast into use, and I only wonder that it has not been so long ago. Our stables are generally a good distance from the House, as indeed are all our offices, for even the Kitchen, dairy &c. &c. are all separate and detached from the Dwelling in which nothing is kept but the mere furniture; no stores of any kind &c. Gardens are likewise away from the house, for being mere Vegetable Beds, there is nothing very inviting in them; the *Mallee* or Gardener generally has his Hut in the Garden. We only value our Gardens in proportion to what they can produce; no lawns or gravel walks &c. and the climate does not allow us to amuse ourselves in them.

Indeed independant of the climate, we could not well descend to any manual labor, for almost all of us being in high official situations it is necessary to support a kind of Dignity in the Eyes of the Natives, which would be entirely lost were we to make such an exertion. Indeed the Natives have such strange and ridiculous opinions on this subject that they wonder how we can bear to walk about shooting with a Gun in our hand, when we might get the Birds without any trouble on our own part; not considering that it is successful skill which gives all the Zest to field sports. Le Gros who

has been here upwards of ten years, (30), and is a great walker early in the morning was once stopped by an old Man who said to him "What Sir can induce you to act so strangely as to walk? you have a Phaeton and pair but still you walk; you have saddle Horses but you walk, you have Bearers, Palanquins and Tonjons but you walk; you have Elephants and Howdahs but you walk; you have a sailing Boat but you walk; what is the Reason of such inconsistency?"

There are Military (commanded by Native officers) under the controul and orders of the Magistrate at all civil stations, not merely for the protection of the places, which, in Bengal at least, are, I fancy, pretty safe; but to guard the convicts, and other prisoners both when in Jail or when at work on the Roads &c. &c. Sentinels are also posted on the Record offices &c. &c. They are not regular Scapoys, but troops raised for this particular purpose, nor are they under martial law (31). We have 250 at this place besides 30 attached to the Collectors office for the purpose of escorting Treasure &c. They are in general a worthless, undisciplined set of Scoundrels very different from the Regular troops which are brave honourable, and obedient. A system is about to be introduced which will I believe abolish these non-descript crops and introduce some on a better footing. At Dacca and I believe at all the Cities there is a Battalion of Regulars.

Bengal is very populous, and in answer to some queries from Government to a former Magistrate of this zillah respecting the number of inhabitants &c. &c. I think he estimated the number of souls in this District to be 1,900,000 which certainly seems immense, but from the mode he took to ascertain the fact I have reason to think he must be nearly correct. After what I have told you of the size of this District, and what I now tell you of its populousness, you will be surprized when I add that it does not pay much above seven lacs of Rupees annual Revenue to Government, not £90,000 sterling. The settlement was made without sufficient consideration, but as it was made for ever it cannot now be altered. Many of the largest land holders are much under assessed, at which of course they do not grumble.

The chief productions of this district are Rice, sugar cane, a small Quantity of Cotton, and some of the coarser kind of Cloths; in some of the neighbouring zillahs considerable quantities of Indigo are manufactured, and I believe some Merchants mean to try it here, where I am sure it will answer extremely well. Government you know give up this article of commerce entirely to individuals; it is rather an uncertain speculation, being either a mine of Gold or absolute Ruin; many princely fortunes have been made by it and as many lost. We, that is all civil servants except those in the Commercial line, are prohibited by our Oaths from trading in any way directly, or indirectly.

(30) Francis Le Gros came to Mymensingh as Collector in 1795: See note (26).

(31) These irregulars were known as *Sebundies*. As late as 1840 Lieut. Robert Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, was in charge of the Sebundy Corps of Sappers and Miners at Darjeeling.

Persons not in the service of the King or Company are forbidden to reside more than ten miles from Calcutta without the sanction of Government, and entering into a Penal Bond to be always forthcoming &c. &c, People of this description are in common with the Natives, amenable to our *Zillah* Courts. In some places there are numbers of them settled as Merchants, and in general are respectable people, there were formerly two or three here but they are removed and gone.

My principal subjects being nearly exhausted, I am become rather miscellaneous, and perhaps tiresome, however, I shall go on to speak as points may occur.

In the more Western Districts at certain times of the year the most dreadful Hot winds prevail, a positive unseen fire, which peels the skin off your face in five minutes if exposed to it. We have them much less in these lower parts, and some years none at all; however, they are generally provided against by preparing what are called *Tatties*. A frame is made to fit the Doors & windows of the side of the House where the winds blow, and this is filled with a fragrant species of grass or rather fibrous Roots called *Khus-Khus*, this is kept constantly wet by the *Bheasty* (the servant who has the charge of providing water) and the wind blowing thro' it renders the place delightfully pleasant. In addition to this, the grass diffuses a very pleasant odour, and the dripping of the water is a cooling sound. They are put up soon after sun-rise, and are sometimes obliged to be kept up until midnight. Bed in the Hot weather is dreadful, sometimes not a breath of air, and we are obliged by the mosquitoes to sleep behind curtains tho they are made of very fine thin gauze. There is also another invader which we are obliged to provide against, this is a small Red Ant, which bites very sharp; to keep them out of Bed we put the Bed-posts into copper pans of water which effectually opposes their ascent. But the most unpleasant thing of all is the myriads of Insects which all Night long keep up a perpetual buzzing and humming, forming one of the most monotonous sounds you can imagine. Perhaps it is only by an Association of Ideas that the noise is so very unpleasant for they are only loudly heard during the Hot and Rainy months.

There is not in India so much of that frigid formality which I think prevails too much in England, and which indeed is easily accounted for when we consider that we are all Servants of the same Company, and that the youngest has every Reason to expect he will in time be as well off as the oldest. This brings us all to a great equality. I should, however, observe that the Company's Servants, taken as a Body, assume a certain hauteur which is perhaps in some instances carried too far; for example, the most respectable Shop-keepers (and a Shop-keeper in this Country means something far beyond the same title in England), Men who have been extremely well-educated and brought up in the society, & with the manners, of Gentlemen, and even some who have been in the Army in India, are not admitted into general society, but form a separate association among themselves.

I believe I have generally described our mode of living and acting which indeed admits of very little variety either in scene or action. I shall now draw towards a conclusion not without a suspicion that I have omitted many of our smaller domestic customs which however do not at present occur to me, perhaps (tho' it appears strange) because they are directly before my Eyes, for we sometimes hunt about for a thing while it is all the time in our hands. There are, however, a few little trifles which I will put down without order or method,

Our furniture is partly the manufacture of this Country and partly of Europe. Chairs in particular are made very well in India from a variety of wood, the best is of a hard black kind something resembling Ebony, Calcutta indeed contains workmen (Europeans I mean) who can, and do, make every species of ornamental and useful elegance, but they are of course very expensive. Of articles which we get from England thro' the channel of the Shop-keepers in this country, I think it is not too much to say that they do not come into our hands under 150 per cent. above their original cost, by which you will perceive that Europe shops are extravagant places. I recollect having been obliged to pay 36 Rupees for a Hat, and I have known Cheese at 3 & 4 Rupees per lb. We get tolerably good fish in India, among others there are Oysters, whiting, mullet, pomfret and many more peculiar to the Clime. A small fish (called the Mangoe-fish) is reckoned the most delicate, and best flavored but they are only to be had when there are *tides*, consequently we get none of them in the Burrampooter. In shape they are not unlike a sprat. Fish at Breakfast is general, I have before spoken to that effect. Vegetation is astonishingly rapid, so that the articles in our Gardens are no sooner fit for use then they run to seed, indeed sometimes before they can attain size & perfection for the table. All rivers in this country decrease very much during the dry season; some are completely dry, and even the mighty Burrampooter falls about 30 feet.

We ride about in our Palanquins in some state, eight or ten *Chuprasses* and sometimes more running before us. They are so called from wearing a *Chupras* or badge of brass and are public officers attached to our Courts to serve process &c. We have sixty allowed us here. Bearers with a Palanquin can travel between four or five miles an hour, and in my way from Chittagong I performed a distance of 106 miles in less than 22 hours on their shoulders. The Natives reckon distances by a *Coss*, which contains about one mile and three quarters English; they have also some curious modes of marking distances; one is as long as a branch of the Banian Tree, carried in the hand, will keep alive; another is as far as the lowing of a Cow can be heard. These are something like the mode practised in America of a pipe of Tobacco but they are of course all fanciful and uncertain.

It may not be amiss to describe to you the nature and powers of our Courts of Justice in this Country. You must be aware that the Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta is exclusively for the administration of *English* law, and that its power extends only over the Town and Factory of Fort William; the

Judges are appointed by the King and are totally independent of the Company. We, that is the Company's Servants vested with judicial authority, are guided in our decisions by the Hindoo and Mussulman Law, as laid down in the *Shaster* and *Koran*, subject, however, to such alterations, modifications and new Rules, as have been from time to time framed by the Governor-General in Council. The country owes to Lord Cornwallis the introduction of the present system of administering Justice to the Natives, which was first adopted in the year 1793 and has been found to answer every beneficial purpose. Lord Wellesley somewhat improved on it by separating the legislative, from the executive power, and thereby removed the members of Council from the Civil Courts.

The Company's possessions in India are divided into Districts called *Zillahs*, perhaps on an average of a similar size to Counties in England. These *Zillahs* are under the Jurisdiction of a Civil Servant who is vested with the united powers of Judge and Magistrate. In his first capacity he is authorized, and directed, to take cognizance of all disputes respecting landed property, mortgages, debts, Rents, and in general of all suits involving real, or personal property, as well as to award damages for libels, or other defamation. He is at once Judge, and Jury, for he both finds the party guilty of the fact, and allots the punishment. To assist him in the discharge of these duties there are attached to his office an *Hindoo* and a *Mahommedun* of birth, Rank, and learning, called respectively a *Pundit* and a *Cauzy*, for the purpose of expounding the *Hindoo* and *Mussulman* Laws (32); besides this he has a large establishment of writers, Record Keepers, &c., all Natives. The Regulations which have been from time to time published by the Governor-General (33), point out explicitly the manner of receiving, conducting, and deciding on the suits which may be brought before him, and it is only in cases involving some particular point that he has occasion to consult his Law officers. To every Court there are a certain number of *Vakeels* or pleaders, who receive no allowances from Government, but derive their emolument from a certain per Centage on the amount value of the cause of action; they are supposed to be men of birth and education, acquainted with the Laws of the Country, and with the Regulations (which are also Laws) of the Government. A Plaintiff, or defendant has it entirely at his own option to employ them, or to plead his own cause in person; this latter mode however is very seldom adopted. The pleadings are four in number, all on *stampt* paper, vizt. the Bill of plaint, the answer, the reply and the rejoinder. In the event of any thing material being omitted in the Bill of Plaint, the Plaintiff is at liberty to file a supplementary one, and the defendant can also claim the same indulgence, but no more than one supplementary Plaint and answer can be admitted. When the pleadings have all been filed, and Read, the Judge proceeds to examine the witnesses, and docu-

(32) These offices were abolished by Act XI of 1864. The presence of the *Cazee* or *Moulvie* was essential in a criminal trial. The *Pundit* gave his opinion in civil cases only.

(33) The term "Regulation" became obsolete in 1833.

ments which either party may have to produce, and having done that, decides on the merits of the case according to the Law, and Regulations.

This is a brief sketch of the mode pursued in civil suits, but as the Natives are extremely and proverbially litigious, it would be impossible for one Judge to decide upon all the causes instituted before him with sufficient expedition to answer the ends of Justice. There is, in consequence, a Civil Servant called a Register attached to all the Civil Courts whose mode of proceeding &c., are precisely the same as that followed by the Judge. He cannot however determine upon any suit in which the cause of action shall exceed 500 Rupees. In addition to this Assistance to the Judge, there is in different parts of each District, a Native called a *Cauzy* vested with power to hear and determine all suits for personal property not exceeding 50 Rupees. From all their decisions an appeal lies to the Judge, whose decision on them is final. In like manner an appeal lies from decisions passed by the Register, above a certain sum but the Judges decree on them is not final.

An appeal also lies from decisions passed by the Judge, above a certain sum, to the provincial Court of Appeal. The *Provincial Courts of Appeal* are exclusively for hearing appeals; they consist of three Judges any two of whom form a bench. There are only six of these Courts in India, and they are at the Cities of Calcutta, Dacca, Patna, Morshedabad, Benares and Barielly. Such is the Civil power of a Zillah Judge. In his capacity of Magistrate he is authorized, and directed to take cognizance of all prosecutions for criminal acts and to preserve the peace of his District. In causes of a trivial Nature he possesses the power to punish by fine, imprisonment, and flogging, not exceeding five hundred rupees, six months, or thirty stripes on the back with a Rattan. He may confine any Person, however, of a notorious bad Character for any period of time until such person can give good security for his future good behaviour. In cases of a more serious nature such as theft attended with aggravated circumstances, Burglary &c. &c., he is directed to commit the parties for trial before the Court of Circuit.

The *Court of Circuit* is held twice a year at every Zillah Station, and consists of one of the Judges of the Court of Appeal who are (like Judges and Magistrates) vested with these double powers. They sit upon the causes which may have been committed for their hearing, and on which their Mussulman Law Officer (who constantly sits with them) gives his written opinion, stating what punishment the Prisoner is liable to according to the Mussulman Law. If the Judge coincide in the opinion with his Law Officer he immediately issues his warrant to the Magistrate for carrying the sentence into execution; but should he, for any Reason, differ from the opinion so given the trial is transmitted by him to the *Nizamut Adawlut* for their final determination.

The *Nizamut Adawlut* is the supreme head Court (quite distinct from the Supreme Court) and consists of three Judges. They also are vested with a double capacity, civil and criminal. In the latter duty they decide (as already mentioned) on any difference between the Circuit Judges and their Law Officers and it is they who pass judgement in capital cases, such as murder

&c. &c., these trials being invariably sent to them by the Circuit Judges. In their civil capacity they receive Appeals from decisions passed by the Judges of the Court of Appeal and in general settle and explain any particular parts of the Laws and Regulations on a reference being made to them for that purpose. From their decisions there is also an Appeal to the King of England in Council, but this can only take place when the cause of action is above a certain sum, I believe £5,000. In like manner all other appeals are restricted to a certain amount. The Judges of this Court are also assisted by Law officers of the description above mentioned. This Court is holden in Calcutta and the members of it are of course stationary. As a *Civil* Court it is denominated the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut*.

This will I hope convey to you a just idea of the mode of administering justice in India. For other duties there are a Board of Trade, consisting of three members, a Board of Revenue, and a Marine Board. The duty of a Collector is very simple, being merely to collect the Land Revenue due to Government, to attach and sell the Lands of Defaulters and in general to superintend all Revenue matters in his district. For acts committed in his public capacity he is amenable to the Zillah Courts. Commercial Residents provide the Company's Investments, whether Cloth, or silk, &c., and are allowed to trade themselves. This office is not at every station but confined to places convenient for Trade &c. (34). The Salt Agents superintend the making of Salt &c. and check any smuggling, for you know the Company monopolize to themselves exclusively this article of Commerce. There is an annual sale of Salt on account of the Company at which the Natives and others buy for Consumption and Retail. The Opium Agent has the charge of providing the opium on account of Government, this being also monopolized, and there is also an annual Sale of this Commodity. The Salt and Opium Agencies are very fine appointments, indeed some of the best in the Country. The emoluments of similar appointments are not all equal, by which I mean that some Districts are better than others.

The salary of a Judge and Magistrate is in no Zillah less than 24,000 Rs. per annum, and in like manner does not in any case exceed 36,000. The Senior Judge of a Court of Appeal and Circuit gets 45,000, the second 40,000 and the third 35,000. The salaries of all Collectors are the same vizt. 1,500 Rs. per mensem, but some Collectorships are better than others because there is an authorized per Centage drawn by these officers on the sale of stamp paper, and on Licenses for selling intoxicating liquors, and drugs, the Consumption of which of course varies in different Zillahs. The Collectorship of Benares for instance is by these means worth upwards of 40,000 Rupees a year. Commercial Residents only receive 500 Rupees a month salary, but draw a per centage on the Investment which they provide for the Company. This circumstance renders these appointments very uncertain as in time of war &c. when

(34) See the article on "The Company's Commercial Residents" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol XXV pp. 84—88.

the Investments are not so large, their emoluments are of course much diminished. This however is supposed to be compensated by the option of trading which they possess, but which is denied to all in the Judicial and Revenue Departments.

In addition to the appointments I have already mentioned there are Collectors of Government duties, and customs on exports and imports, some of them very lucrative. There are also four Secretaries to Government, Secretaries to the Boards of Revenue Trade and Marine, &c.; all these are capital appointments. I need not however enlarge on this point as the Directory will best tell you the disposition of the Service.

OMNIUM GATHERUM.

Horses in this Country are very dear. Those most in vogue for blood and beauty are from Arabia and scarcely, any of this description are to be had under 1,000 Rupees—1,200, 1,600, and 2,000 are the general prices, tho' there are Horse, called Arabs, but in fact not so, that sell for 600 or 800. This is a source of much expense, particularly among young Men who usually have two or three. There are some fine Horses brought from the North-West parts of India but these are scarce. The Company have an establishment for improving the breed of Cattle and a Board of Superintendence but as yet they have not done much. Few Gentlemen in India advanced in the Civil Service keep less than six or seven Horses. Grooms following on Horseback are not at all common. Saddlery &c. of course all comes from England, and is dear, 120 Rs. is the usual price of a saddle and bridle.

You will, after reading this little volume, be less surprized at the number of Servants we keep; every employment requires a separate Servant; your Groom will not clean your Boots, nor will your Khidmutgar rub your furniture in the House; your Gardener will not litter up your Horse in the stable, nor will your Cow keeper cut a Cabbage for you in the Garden. In fact Men in this Country are *born* to different professions, and the meanest person in our employ will not wash his own Cloathes there being a particular Race of People destined to perform this service.

We generally dress in fresh apparel three times a day. Our first dress in the Morning early for riding is of course desabille, Boots, &c., &c., for Breakfast we are generally all in white and the same again for Dinner, however this varies according to the Season. As we change our Linen so often it is not much soiled, and of course requires less washing, but the mode of performing this operation is so rough, that, added to the frequency our Cloathes do not last a very long time. Every Gentleman keeps a *washerman* (for this duty is exclusively performed by Men) who is a regular Servant. Where there is a family it is necessary to keep two or three. Very few houses have fire places in Bengal, tho' they would at times be pleasant and convenient. Glass windows are sometimes agreeable, but I have never regretted the want of them. Blankets on the Bed are necessary in the Cold weather. Our Doors and windows are left open even

during the Night without fear of any intruder, except, perhaps, a Jackall, who will carry away your shoes, or any leather he can find. Nightcaps are not often worn. We always sleep in drawers made very loose, and large, of fine Cloth or muslin. Carpets are occasionally laid down during the Cold Season. The Carriages used in this Country are mostly made by Europeans in Calcutta, and are quite as elegant as any from England, tho' perhaps not quite so strong. You are aware that the Natives will not eat or drink with us, nor partake of any thing from our Tables, do not therefore imagine any black faces at our Dinners &c. &c. At Country stations like this we have literally no one to associate with but the Gentlemen in office.

The Rivers chiefly supply us with our drinking water, except perhaps at Calcutta, where it is brackish; ponds and Rain are substitutes. The water of the Burrampooter is very fine. Water is the usual *draught* at Table, indeed I might say universal for two or three hardly make an exception to a general Rule. These few perhaps imbibe ale or porter and in the Cold weather in moderation it is not even by medical Men reckoned to be unwholesome. India abounds with Reservoirs of water called Tanks, they are all artificial excavations. A Native who wishes to perpetuate his name in any particular spot generally digs a Tank or plants some long-lived Trees, and indeed it is a sensible method of courting Fame.

There are no "adieu" or "good byes" in this Country on leaving a Gentleman's House after Dinner. The Company drop off one by one without saying a word, get into their Palanquins and go home. At night in addition to the Carriage lamps there are sometimes three or four Ink Boys running before the Horses with flambeaux or lanthorns. There is always at least one before a Palanquin.

Almost every description of animal in India is smaller than in more temperate Climates, they are however generally speaking equally good. The Bengal mutton, in particular, is of exquisite flavor. In a Country Station where you keep a farm-yard, you must have a constant stock of at least 100 sheep and 3 or 400 fowls, these latter are in such general use and consumption (being used in various dishes) that six or seven or more are frequently killed in a day. I have before mentioned my dislike to the superabundance of meats at an Anglo-Indian Table. All other kinds of Stock must of course be kept up in proportion. Our fowls are cooped up as at home, and fattened on Bread and milk and Rice. Sheep eat a small pea called *Kullace* and on this they soon get fat. Oxen are brought into eating condition by "gram" which I have before mentioned. Our pork is very good (home fed) both of the China and Country breed. Our fires for cooking are of course all of wood having no coal. An Indian kitchen (to speak generally) in point of cleanliness would put a good house-wife at home in the horrors. Here are no Jacks, and the meat is roasted not *parallel* to the fire but *above* it, for there is also a want of grates. The meat however is never smoked, and considering our style of cooking differs so materially from theirs, the Natives manage very well with our Dinners, tho' if you wish to preserve your appetite, you must not see

them dressed. Our cooks are men of the very lowest cast for it is difficult to induce others to defile themselves in our Culinary Arts.

All our Houses are of course pretty near to each other, and are always if possible at a distance from the Natives. We here live on the Banks of the River which are fine, high, and dry (35). There are large Towns scattered all over the District but scarcely any brick buildings. The Cities of Dacca, Patna, &c., which were the seats of the Mussulman Govt. still shew what they once were. At the former I have frequently gazed on the immense pile of Ruins which once formed the magnificent Palace of Arungzebe. We have a Market held here every Friday, at which is to be bought Cloth, Shoes, ornaments, fruit, Rice, fish, Vegetables, &c.

It is astonishing how very few of the Natives ride on Horseback by choice, we have many Rich ones in this Zillah, but I have never by any chance seen one of them on Horseback. They are like all the rest of the Asiatics indolent and supine to the greatest extreme.

We get very fine Ice during the cold season, but it is procured by the greatest care and art; it would indeed be a luxury could we have it during the Hot weather. Our liquors of every description are always cooled in Salt petre which is rather expensive, but without this they would from their heat almost operate like a Vomit!! Tea is of course drunk at Breakfast &c. I never drink it myself (a glass of milk and water being my Beverage) but I hear others say that it has not by any means the fine flavor which it has in England; this sounds very strange and I believe must be a good deal fancied.

I shall conclude with a few Tables which may perhaps amuse you.

OF SERVANTS WAGES.

				Per month Rs.
A Khansamah (steward or Butler) from	...	..	16	to 50
Khidmutghar (who waits at Table, &c.)	...	..	5	to 8
Sirdar (or head bearer who dresses you, takes care of your				
Cloathes &c.)	...	...	6	to 10
Hookahburdar	...	...	10	to 20
Syce (Groom)	...	...		5
Grass cutter	...	...		3
Gardener	...	...		6
Hircarrah	...	...		6
Bearers (for carrying Palanquin) each	...		3	to 5
Dooriahs (who take care of Dogs, &c.) each	...		3	to 6
Taylor	...	...	6	to 16

(35) A pen and ink sketch shows the "relative position of our dwellings at Mymensing as they appear from the River." On the extreme left is the "Town," denoted by a cluster of huts: next come the "Collector's Office," "Le Gros' House" and the Doctor's." Separated from these by a clump of trees are the "Judge's House," the "Court House," and "My Bungalow."

Washerman	...	...	...	8 to 20
Mahout (or Elephant Driver)	...	...	...	5 to 10
Sircar (the head Superintendent of accounts, &c.)	...	...	...	16 to 40
Cook	...	...	...	6 to 16
Mussalchee (or link Boy, &c.)	...	...	...	4 to 6
Aubdar (or Water-cooler)	...	...	...	6 to 10
Ferash (or candle snuffer)	...	...	...	4
Derwan (or porter at the Gate)	...	...	...	5
Cow keeper, Sheep keeper, fowl keeper, &c. each	...	...	...	3
Baker	...	...	...	10 to 16
Butterman (the man who makes Butter)	...	...	...	5 to 8
Fisherman (a regular servant)	...	...	...	4
Bheasty (who provides water, &c.)	...	...	...	5

Almost all these Servants are absolutely necessary and there is often occasion to keep several of the same description, for instance every Horse requires two Servants and so forth.

OF PRICES.

Wheat from 60 to 80 lb. for a Rupee.

Rice from 80 to 160 lb. for a Rupee.

Sheep (not fat) one Rupee each.

Oxen (not fat) from 4 to 10 each.

Fowls I have before mentioned.

Turkeys from 2 to 6 each but in Calcutta they are much dearer.

Ducks 4, 5, 6 for a Rupee.

Geese 2, 3, 4 for a Rupee.

Fruit of all kinds very cheap indeed, for instance fine apples 5 and 6 for a Rupee.

Gram (on which Horses &c. feed) 80 lb. for a Rupee.

Kids four or five for a Rupee.

Fish cheap but out of Calcutta Gentlemen usually keep their own fishermen who provide their Tables from the River. Fish and Rice is the universal food of the Hindoos.

Milk 60 to 80 lb. per Rupee but in the Country Gentlemen always keep their own Cows.

A Milch Cow from 10 to 16 Rupees.

An Elephant from 300 to 1000 Rupees.

Eggs 40 or 50 for a Rupee.

Pigeons 10 or 12 for a Rupee.

Calves (not fat) 4 to 6 Rupees each. In a district where the majority of the inhabitants are Hindoos it is sometimes difficult to procure these animals as they do not like to sell them for slaughter; such is the case here.

I think if you put from 100 to 150 per cent. on the English price of articles sent to this Country it will be about what we pay. However this varies according to the state of the market and is sometimes more, but I think sel-

dom less. Salt peter about 16 lb. for a Rupee and about that quantity is daily consumed where House is kept.

I believe I have before told you that nothing but wax candles are burnt in our Houses, The Natives make use of a lamp & oil extracted from the mustard seed of which large quantities are grown annually. With this urguent they also annoint their Bodies & put it on their Hair which you may imagine makes them very *fragrant*.

Women servants form no part of our establishments except in the Houses of married men. A Gentleman never carries money about his person & except perhaps by accident has not a Rupee in his pocket from one year's end to the other. Indeed we are seldom incommoded with any thing but a Handkerchief, these are always of white plain muslin. Wax candles cost from 70 to 90 Rupees a maund which contains 80 lb. There is a regular post to every station in India & the postage is of course regulated by the weight & distance, for instance a single letter from hence to Calcutta will cost 5 anas, about ten pence.

When at home there are always Hircarrahs waiting in the anti-Rooms to attend any call which is not made as in England by a Bell &c. but by calling out "Koe hy?" i.e., "is any body there". A *Griffin* from hearing this at every house he goes to, is at first apt to imagine that every house contains a Servant named "Koe hy". Our servants are all dressed in white linen, and indeed it is the universal color in India, sometimes they have colored sashes and turbans. At table most Ladies and Gentlemen have two Khidmutghars behind them, so that at a party of 20 there will be altogether 60 persons in the Room.

The Character of an Englishman undergoes some change by a residence in the East. An Englishman in India is proud and tenacious, he feels himself a Conqueror amongst a vanquished people and looks down with some degree of Superiority on all below him. Indolence, the disease of the Climate, affects him with its torpid influence, and to the present moment futurity is made subservient. A cool apathy, a listless inattention, and an improvident carelessness generally accompanies most of his actions; secure of to day, he thinks not of tomorrow. Ambitious of splendor, he expends freely, & forms his calculation on Riches yet in perspective; *what* he wishes, that he procures, for it is seldom Prudence dares to say "No", when desire says "yes". Generosity is a feature in the Character too prominent to be overlooked, but as it sometimes borders on extravagance it loses some of its Virtue. Bring distress before his Eyes and he bestows with a liberality that is nowhere surpassed. He must be solicited, but he is never solicited in Vain. The extremes of dissipation and avarice are of course to be met with; the *first* is the thoughtless profusion of Youth, buoyed up by golden dreams of what is to come; the second is the chill parsimony of age, reflecting on what he has let slip past him. These extremes are however rare, & the medium is most common. In his public Character (whatever Calumny & Detraction may

say to the Contrary) he is minutely just, inflexibly upright, and I believe no public Service in the whole world can evince more integrity. In short an Englishman in India is voluptuous and idle, indifferent and careless, liberal and independant. He fears no Man's frown, he Courts no Man's smile; he looks to those above him without envy, conscious that time will also exalt him; & on those below him without pride, aware that the same agent will also bring them forward. This you will of course consider quite as a general sketch.

I now conclude, but must first offer some apologies for the immethodical & digressive manner throughout these pages; for inelegant language, occasional omissions, faulty punctuation, and inadvertant Grammatical errors. Some custome I have perhaps mentioned as general, which are only particular; and I may have spoken of some as particular only which are in fact general. I have endeavoured to "catch the manners living as they rise", and I hope I have painted things only as they are. Some points worthy of notice I have no doubt forgotten, and have perhaps remarked some which may be deemed too insignificant. The same thing does not appear to all persons in the same point of view, and however the shades of the picture may occasionally vary, I hope the general outline will be found to correspond. Custom, which makes all things familiar, makes them also sometimes agreeable, and this habituation may have induced me to pass without censure some points which to a distant Eye, may appear vague, useless, or reprehensible. Who ever finished a task of any length that could say "I have completely fulfilled my design"? If he has done to the best of his ability he must be satisfied, and to the *uninitiated* let him cry, *Si quid novisti rectius istis, Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum.*

H. R.

Munni Begam, the "Mother of the Company."

THE story of the early days of John Company teems with romance. At a time when Begam Samru, wife of Walter Reinhardt, the German adventurer, was making history in Northern India, the genius of Munni Begam was at work regulating the affairs of the Nizamat in Bengal.

Munni Begam, wife of Nawab Mir Jafar Ali Khan, played no insignificant part in the days when the East India Company from being merely a body of traders were beginning to adopt the role of administrators. Munni's origin is lost in obscurity, but in the Persian records of the Company, which are now preserved in the Imperial Record Department, there is a letter from which it appears that she was the daughter of a poor widow whose home was at Sikandra in Agra. Early in life she was sent to Delhi to learn the art of a nautch girl. She displayed musical talents of a high order and soon mastered it to perfection. Nature had, with a lavish hand, bestowed upon her her choicest gifts. Ravishingly beautiful, with a voice the melody of which enraptured those who heard it, she dazzled the pleasure-loving Court of Delhi. Her fame had reached Bengal and on the occasion of the wedding of Ikramuddaulah, brother of Sirajuddaulah, she was summoned to Murshidabad to give an exhibition of her art. She came, she saw, she conquered. The enthusiastic reception they gave her gratified her vanity, and the city, then one of the finest in Asia, proved sufficiently attractive for her to make it her home. Mir Jafar Ali Khan settled a handsome allowance for her and subsequently took her into his harem. His principal wife, the mother of Miran, had died. Babbu Begam, his second wife, was living but Munni Begam stepped in and quickly outshadowed her. She bore him two sons, Najm-ud-daulah and Saif-ud-dowlah. After the death of Mir Jafar they succeeded in turn to the *Masnad* but both died within five years (1765-1770). It was during the Nizamat of the former that the legacy of five lakhs of rupees bequeathed by Mir Jafar to Lord Clive was handed over to him by Munni Begam. As is well-known, Clive very generously created with this amount a Fund for the relief of invalids in the Company's service.

When Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah, the youthful son of Mir Jafar by Babbu Begam, ascended the *masnad* of Murshidabad in 1770, Warren Hastings appointed Munni Begam to be Regent. It was an excellent selection for she showed a wonderful grasp of administrative affairs. The splendour of her Durbar became proverbial. The minutest details of business received her careful attention and the erstwhile dancing girl of Sikandra was now a princess whom not only the nobility of Murshidabad respected for her great qualities but who was also venerated by the head of the Company's Government. The relations between her and the Governor-General were of the most cordial character as will appear from the letters that passed between them and which are now preserved in the archives of the Government of India.

For instance, in his letter to the Begam in November 1774 Warren Hastings writes: "Your letter conveying your pleasure and congratulations on my being appointed Governor-General arrived at such a happy moment that like the breeze of Spring it caused the flower of my heart to blossom and refreshed my soul. Our interests being identical, it is natural that you should be glad to hear of my prosperity. May God make the occasion propitious for you as well!" The tone of the Begam's letters is almost motherly in the affectionate expressions with which they abound. Here is a specimen: "Nawab Sahib of exalted dignity, high rank and elevated position; embodiment of many virtues, of unbounded sympathy; light of my eyes; dearer than life; may God the Most High protect you! After praying for your long life and prosperity I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 17 Rabi II, 1192 A.H. (15 May 1778) stating that you have sanctioned the scheme of Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah and that you have granted permission to Sadrul-Haq Khan and Raja Guru Das to return to Murshidabad. The Nawab has also received your letter on the same subject. He thanks you very much for what you are doing to preserve and promote the honour and dignity of his family. It cannot be denied that you have done all that could be done to uphold the Nawab's dignity in the present case. May God preserve you for ever! I hope you will always continue to bestow your favours [on the Nawab]. I shall be very glad to hear from you every now and then." (Received 23 May 1778).

In the Victoria Memorial Hall can be seen to-day (writes Sir Evan Cotton in his *Calcutta: Old and New*) an ivory chair and a small table of the same material, which form part of a historic set of furniture. They were a present from Munni Begam to Mrs. Hastings, and for many years were at Daylesford, the English home of Hastings. Their present possessor is the Maharajah of Durbhanga, by whom these pieces have been lent. "The Begum sent me more than one message expressive of her disappointment at my passing the city (Moorshedabad) as she had prepared an elegant display of your couches and chairs for my entertainment," writes Hastings to his wife from Calcutta on November 14, 1784, "these are since arrived, with a letter for you, recommended most earnestly to my care. There are two couches, eight chairs, and two footstools, all of the former patterns, most delicately formed, and more to my taste than the others; not designed for fat folks nor romps; nor proper for you, my elegant Marian, to use in the presence of Your husband." "The Begum," writes Hastings again to his wife on November 26, 1784, "has sent me two couches, six chairs, and two footstools, of the former patterns. They are highly finished, and I have them all separately and strongly packed; but have not determined on their conveyance. She has added two chairs of buffalo horn, which I like better than the Ivory. They are modest, light and elegant, and as elastic as a Bow. These were all prepared for display in the expectation of my stopping to visit her; and great was her disappointment at my passing. However, they were immediately sent after me with a Letter for you, which I was charged with repeated injunctions to convey carefully and speedily to you." The letter just quoted as well as another

dated February 28, 1784 which Hastings wrote to his wife show that the Begam was sincerely attached to Mrs. Hastings. "I forgot to tell you that Munny Begum expressed her regret of your departure in terms which seemed too natural to have proceeded from mere civility. I was pleased to hear her say that she grieved on my account as much as for her own loss in your departure and the necessity which occasioned it."

It is said that Munni Begum used to pay Warren Hastings when touring in the *Nizamat* jurisdiction £200 a day for his table expenses. A present of 3 lakhs of rupees which Hastings was alleged to have accepted from her was cited by Nanda Kumar as an instance of his corruption, before General Clavering, Col. Monson and Philip Francis, the Councillors who arrived from England in October 1774. The Begum denied Nanda Kumar's allegations and Hastings pronounced the letter from her which Nanda Kumar produced, to be a forgery. The triumvirate were bent upon undoing everything Hastings had done and they divested Munni Begam of her authority in May 1775. In referring to this Hastings wrote to Lawrence Sullivan, Chairman of the East India Company: "They have dismissed the Begam from her office which I had arranged her for the express and sole purpose of guarding the Company's authority against encroachment or competition." She was however allowed to live in a style befitting her great rank, and was granted a monthly pension of Rs. 12,000. She was the first of the few great ladies of Murshidabad who were known as *Gaddinashin Begums*. The beautiful *Chawk Musjid* which is situated to the south-west of the Palace was built by her.

The following description of Moorshedabad is given by Thomas Twining who visited it in the year 1794, on his way by river from Santipore to Delhi, in the company of Sir Robert Abercromby the Commander-in-Chief; (*Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*: pp. 107-108).

I found the modern and last capital of the native sovereigns of Bengal to be larger but not handsomer than I expected. Its extent, not very easy to measure or define, might still be compared with that of London, but its population was certainly much less, not exceeding it was supposed 200,000 odd (1): the whole with very little exception, Hindoo.....The line of the city along the eastern bank of the river is very extensive and was crowded with boats the whole way: but the streets are narrow and contain few buildings, public or private, worthy of notice. All signs of former opulence had disappeared without being succeeded by any visible indication of modern prosperity.

Lord Valentia passed by Moorshedabad in 1803, when proceeding by river from Calcutta to Lucknow and Cawnpore, and halted there also upon his return journey, when he had an interview with the then Nawab Nazim (Babar Jang, Nasir-ul-Mulk) and Munni Begam. He has given the following account of his visit in his *Travels in India* (Vol. I. pp. 73-75, 225-226):

(1) The population of Moorshedabad is given in the last Census Report (1921) as 22, 364.

Feb. 22, 1803 :—Burhampore is one of the six great military stations in these provinces. The cantonments are a fine range of buildings, on one side of a large open lawn, around which are situated the houses of different Europeans. It is distant five miles from Moorshedabad, usually called "the City." It is the residence of the present Nawab of Bengal, Naussir-ul-Moolk, and also of the celebrated Munny Begum, widow of Jaffier Khan, so well known in Europe by the rhetoric of Mr. Burke. She is excessively rich, and still retains her intellects in full vigour, though, beyond all doubt, of a very considerable age. A history of her life would include all the most important transactions of Bengal, and almost all the vicissitudes that can happen to an individual, even in Asia. She has seen her husband raised to the Musnud by the assistance of the British, afterwards deposed by them, and obliged to seek refuge in Calcutta; again restored, and dying in possession of the country : her son reduced to be a pensioner on the same Power, which seized the empire for itself. She, however, has still the rank and property of a princess, and by the strength of her mind, and her influence in Calcutta, preserves the absolute control over her whole family. The allowance to them would be amply sufficient for their maintenance with a proper degree of dignity, were it not for the prodigious increase of their numbers, and the improvidence that seems to be inherent in the Mahomadan character. If they continue to increase, as they have done, several branches must be reduced to absolute poverty, unless a succession of Begums should save them. I really consider these old ladies as very useful appendages to a family; they operate as a kind of sinking fund; for, always having considerable allowances either by jaghire or pension, which it is impossible for them to spend, they save very large sums, which at their deaths go to maintain the younger branches, or to pay the debts of the family.

It was my intention to have paid a visit to the old lady, in order to hear her voice, (which, I understood, is uncommonly shrill, and which she sometimes raises to its highest key) and accordingly wrote to Mr. Becher, who, during the absence of Mr. Pattel, was his representative at the Durbar, (2) requesting that he would make arrangements to enable me to pay my respects to her, and the Nawab, on the morning of the 24th. To this we received for answer, that the Nawaub was out of town, and consequently that it was, at so short a notice, impracticable. My whole arrangements had been made for quitting Burhampore on the evening of that day; not only had the dawkh been laid, but gentlemen resident at the different

(2) " Durbar is the place where the sovereign actually is, and answers to the English word, court."—Valentia. Charles Becher was a writer of 1795 and was commercial resident at Radhanagore and Keerpoy from 1829 to 1836, when he retired on annuity.

places had received notice of the day I should arrive; consequently, I felt it impossible to put off my departure, in order to visit the Nawaub on a future day; I therefore determined to make my excuses to his Highness, and to pay my respects on my return.

October 1, 1803 :—Mr. Pattle (3) called on me at eight to conduct me to his house, where I took up my abode, after having been twenty-four days on the Ganges, during which time we made four hundred coss. The river was unusually low, or the current would have been stronger, and carried the boats at a much quicker rate.

I sent my compliments to the Nawaub, and the Munny Begum, which were returned by them in the course of the day. Mr. Pattle has fixed on to-morrow to accompany me to the palace, and has engaged a proper suwarry to attend me.

October 2 :—His Highness chose to receive us to breakfast at the late hour of half after eight o'clock, which, on account of the heat, is most unpleasant. At eight we departed in Mr. Pattle's coach and four for the city. Near the palace our palanquins were waiting to convey us the rest of the way, where a carriage could not advance. We passed through a mass of ruins to a tolerably handsome flight of steps, which led to a large apartment, divided by pillars, with a verandah overhanging the river. This has been recently repaired; for when Lord Wellesley visited him, every beam was propped. The Nawaub advanced to meet me, embraced, and led me to a seat at his right hand. He is rather a handsome looking young man, and was plainly dressed in white muslin, with a rich string of emeralds round his neck, from the centre of which was suspended a very fine pearl; with four others of considerable magnitude at the end (4). He spoke but little, and is, I understand, a very reserved man. He inquired my age, where I had been, and when I meant to return home; but there was a considerable pause between each question. Roy Monick Chund, the old Begum's confidential and head servant, was presented to me. He has been thirty years in her service, and is a very able man, with a countenance intelligent and mild. He manages the old lady, who in her turn manages the Nawaub.

As soon as we decently could, I made a motion to retire. Attar and pawn were presented. The former he offered to help me to, which I declined, as a mark of inferiority I could not allow. He seemed surprised: but on my persisting, Mr. Pattle explained the circum-

(3) Thomas Pattle came out as a writer in 1765 and was appointed Senior Judge of the Court of Appeal at Moorshedabad in 1797 and Superintendent of Nizam-ut affairs in 1800.

(4) Lord Valentia adds (p. 229) that the magnificent jewels which the Nawab was wearing at the time of his visit were taken out of pawn for the occasion and that the creditors who had them in pledge were waiting downstairs to watch and receive them again on his departure. He describes the palanquin of the Nawab as being all of cloth of gold with panels of glass and doors of the same material! "It was certainly handsome, but must have been immoderately hot."

stance, and he gave it to me to help myself. According to strict etiquette it ought to have been given me at the door, and standing, for the farther the advance before giving it, the higher the compliment. It is not the custom here to tender presents; his poverty would make it inconvenient.

From thence we walked through ruined gateways, and over heaps of rubbish, to the Munny Begum's, where we were received by two very fine boys, children of a man whom she adopted some time ago, when at mortal enmity with the Nawaub. He died soon afterwards, leaving these children, who, by the Mahomedan law, have every right as if naturally descended from her. She lives in a small garden of about an acre and a half, which, out of respect to Meer Jaffier's memory, she has not quitted since his death, which is now forty years. She conversed from behind a scarlet silk purdah, that was stretched across a handsome open room, supported by pillars. The whole had an appearance of opulence, and the boys were handsomely dressed. Her voice is loud and coarse, but occasionally tremulous. She owes to sixty-eight years old age. Mrs. Pattle, who has seen her, informs me that she is very short and fat, with vulgar, large, harsh features, and altogether one of the ugliest women she ever beheld. In this description, who would trace the celebrated nautch-girl of Mr. Burke? It is probable, the influence she acquired over her husband, was owing more to her intellectual than personal accomplishments: for she has a good understanding, though her temper is exceedingly violent. There is no doubt of her being rich; but what will become of her property is uncertain. Nothing can induce her to make a will: the very mention of a thing that insinuates a supposition of its being possible she can die, throwing her into a violent passion. These boys are her legal heirs; but the Nawaub is on the spot, and if not prevented by the British, will probably seize the whole. During the whole of our stay two minahs were talking most incessantly, to the great delight of the old lady, who often laughed at what they said, and praised their talents. Her hookah filled up the intervals.

The Nawab Nazim at the time of Lord Valentia's visit was Babar Jang (Nasir-ul-Mulk Azud-ud-daula Nawaub Syud Babar Ali Khan Bahadur, Dilar Jang) son of Nawab Mobarak-ud-daula. He occupied the musnud from 1793 to 1810: and upon his death Munni Begam endeavoured to secure the succession for Abul Kasim the second son of Mobarak-ud-daula. But Mr. Richard Rocke the Resident, favoured the claim of Ali Jah (Nawab Syud Mahomed Zain-ul Abdin) who was installed by order of Lord Minto, on June 10, 1810.

Munni Begam died at an advanced age on 10 January 1813. The year of her death is given in Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* as 1779 (Sha'ban, A. H. 1103) but this is palpably wrong, for in the Persian records

of the Government of India can be seen many letters received from her in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Sydney C. Grier, in her *Letters of Warren Hastings to the Wife*, writes (p. 229): "when Lord Valentia saw her, she confessed to being sixty-eight, but must have been older, for in 1813 Toone mentions that Munny Begum died on January 10th at the age of ninety-seven." The date, as we have said, is correct: but that her age was not more than ninety, is evidenced by the following announcement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of January 14, 1813, which was published by command of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council above the signature of G. Dowdeswell, the Chief Secretary to Government:

A despatch from the Superintendent of Nizamut affairs at Moorshedabad has been received by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, announcing the melancholy event of the decease of Her Highness the Munny Begum, widow of the late Nawaub Jaafer Ali Khaun, ancestor of the reigning Nawaub of Bengal, on the morning of the 10th instant.

Her Highness's remains were interred with the honours due to her exalted rank in the evening of the same day at a mosque in the city of Moorshedabad.

In testimony of respect to the memory of her late Highness the Munny Begum, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to direct that minute guns to the number of ninety, answering to the years of the deceased, be fired from the ramparts of Fort William at four o'clock this evening, the flag being hoisted halfmast high.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Merchant Zemindars.

PART II: THE THIRTY-EIGHT TOWNS.

IN studying the Company's methods in the zemindari of the "Three Towns" there was the satisfaction of following out a conscious policy deliberately pursued on the basis of established rights and possession. Very different is the story of the Zemindari of the "Thirty Eight Towns" (1) which is now to be told. We pass from a record of unobtrusive self assertion to a comedy of illusory concessions and exaggerated claims. In furtherance of their policy of establishing the territorial status of the trading settlement on zemindari rights the Company's servants in Bengal obtained permission to purchase certain villages out of neighbouring zemindari holdings. This privilege was obtained from the Mogul Emperor at great expense as the result of a three years' mission to Delhi and was completed with every formality. The concession however, came to nothing for several reasons. The zemindars had no inclination to sell their rights in these villages, and, even if they had been so disposed, the Subah of Bengal was averse to any further acquisitions by the Company. At the same time the Emperor had not the slightest further interest in the Company's claims, once the emissaries had departed from Delhi with their cartloads of documents in place of the goods and cash they had brought to secure them. The boasted grant of the zemindari of the thirty eight towns, came therefore to nothing; and, after a few ineffectual attempts to secure at least its partial fulfilment, the whole claim was allowed to lapse for thirty years, only to be revived as a diplomatic point d'appui after the outbreak of war with Suraj-ud-doula. What the Company then demanded was not merely the right to purchase the zemindari of these villages, but the positive grant of them, and the fact that they had found no zemindar willing to sell, at least at any price which the Company were prepared to give, became a grievance against the country power. Finally in the hour of success this claim itself was replaced at a few days notice by the infinitely more valuable grant of the zemindari of the Twenty-four Pargannahs; and at the same time any question of payment of compensation to the former zemindars of that area was tacitly dropped. The zemindari of the thirty eight towns, about which so much is heard in the Company's correspondence, was never therefore obtained. Unlike that of the three towns it has left no trace whatever in the history of Calcutta: and the excuse for

(1) The number in question appears at different times as 38, 33 and 32. I have been unable to ascertain whether this variation is due to clerical slips, or to a difference in the enumeration of the towns. The list referred to below details 38 villages. The suggested grant by the Emperor, at one stage of the negotiations, of 5 towns has nothing to do with this difference between 33 and 38.

telling the tale at all lies only in its interest as an episode in the Company's diplomacy.

It is convenient to fix the accession of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar in the year 1713 as the point in Indian history at which the Company definitely initiated the policy of extending the boundaries of their zemindary in Bengal. In the year 1710 we find the Court still harping on the old theme that the revenues must be increased so as to cover local expenses; and in urging the Governor and Council in Calcutta to devise ways and means to effect this they perhaps just hint at an extension of territory. "We are sure that time and a hearty and zealous management at Fort William will make the revenues there reimburse our annual charges—and we hope you will be frequently turning your thoughts how the same may be done by encreasing ye present (revenues) when a fitting occasion offers or creating new ones" (2).

But there is no vestige of the idea of territorial extension at Calcutta in the letter (3) written in March 1713 by the President of the Company to Farrukhsiyar on the occasion of his accession. This is the more noticeable as this letter "the request of the smallest particle of sand John Russell President of the East India Company with his forehead at command rubbed in the ground," does proceed to outline the general claim of the Company to trading privileges.

Meanwhile however the Governor and Council in Calcutta must have been busy with schemes for extending the territories of the settlement and in January 1714 they record their objective as "getting their boundaries enlarged Northward to near Baranagar, Eastward to the Lake, Southward to Kidderpore, and that the shore on the river opposite this place be also granted to us" (4). It is remarkable how closely this definition of the ideal boundaries of the settlement corresponds with the area covered by the town of Calcutta in the general sense of the name as it now exists. And in fact the "Thirty Eight Towns" of which the Company were anxious to acquire the zemindary amounted to no more than this. The "town," as has already been explained, was the revenue "mauza" or "village"; and the list (5) of the thirty eight towns, as drawn up at about this time, reads like a directory to the streets and quarters of Calcutta. "Belgassiah" (Belgatchia), "Ultading" (Ultadinga), "Chorangey" (Chowringhee), "Mirzapore," such are the names it includes, with the revenue payable for each village. At the head of the list come five "towns" on the opposite shore, "Salica" (Salkea), and "Haurah" (Howrah), corresponding approximately to the riverside area of the present Howrah Municipality. The published papers do not show how these boundaries for the extension of the zemindari came to be adopted; but we must give the Governor and Council in Calcutta in the early eighteenth century credit for anticipating with remarkable accuracy the natural lines of expansion of their settlement. It is clear too

(2) Wilson. *Old Fort William*, Vol. I. p. 81.

(3) Wilson. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* Vol. II. Part I p. 111.

(4) *Ibid*: Vol. II, Part I p. 158.

(5) *Ibid*: Vol. II, Part II p. 280.

that the proposal must have been considered of sufficient importance to call for an immense amount of preliminary work in compiling the details.

This list of the Thirty Eight Towns is to be found among the papers of John Surman's Mission to Delhi, 1714-1717. It is well known that John Surman and Edward Stephenson were sent from Calcutta to the Court at Delhi to obtain from Farrukhsiyar a grant of the privileges required by the Company (6). They were accompanied by Khojah Sarhad, the Armenian of whose services the Company had made use fifteen years before in obtaining the zemindari of three towns from Azim-us-shan. He held the position of second on the Mission, ranking above Stephenson, having refused to join it on any other terms; but the history of the embassy is one of continuous bickering between Khojah Sarhad on the one side and Surman and Stephenson on the other. With these three went Hugh Barber as Secretary, and Hamilton the Doctor whose services to the Emperor were one of the factors contributing to its favourable reception, but whose influence in securing its success has been much exaggerated. The concessions which this embassy were instructed to negotiate covered the whole range of the Company's activities in India; and the extension of the Calcutta zemindari was only one of their demands though by no means the least important. It lies therefore beyond the scope of this article to dwell on the vivid picture of official business at the Mogul Court which the records of the embassy have preserved.

What is important for our purposes is to realise that this demand for the extension of the Company's zemindari met with a special measure of obstruction at Delhi. On its first presentation to the Emperor John Surman's petition (7) which comprised the whole series of the Company's demands was referred, as we should say, "to the office for report." It came back with the quite reasonable suggestion, against the paragraph about the zemindari, that as nothing was known about the matter in Delhi, a report should be called for from the Dewan of Bengal. "The Dewan may be wrote to that an account be sent to the Court " so runs the "account from the King's books" of the "First petition examined," a document which is nothing more or less than a translation of the office notes on the petition. Nothing could of course be more unwelcome to the Mission, who were well aware that the Dewan and Subah of Bengal, Murshed Kuli Khan, was adverse to any extension of the Company's holding.

It proved impossible to obtain from the Emperor orders on the first petition which could be interpreted as satisfactory, and practically the whole of its contents were repeated in a second petition (8). This time the office comment was whittled down to a bare precis of the documents about the "three towns" which the Mission had brought with them, followed by a colourless statement of the new demands; but the most that could be obtained from the

(6) Wilson. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part II p. xi.

(7) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II pp. 59, 81, 84.

(8) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II pp. 86, 118.

Emperor was an order to "give them two more towns of the value of 800 rupees." Not to be put off the Embassy filed still one more representation (9), dealing only with the grant of the Thirty Eight Towns and of a house at Surat; and with the help of redoubled efforts in bribing courtiers and clerks alike, which were reported in much detail to the authorities in Calcutta, they secured the Firman of 1717.

John Surman regarded this at the time as an eminently satisfactory close to his labours. As a matter of fact however the terms of this Firman, so far as they referred to the zemindari, constituted a compromise between the actual demands of the Company and the concession which the Emperor was prepared to make. What the Governor and Council in Calcutta wanted was an order for the compulsory purchase of the additional zemindaries in the same manner as that acquired in 1699. "That a Phirmaund be granted that according to former custom we may upon ye Phirmaund obtain a bill of sale" (10), runs the second petition, the "custom" of course being simply the case of the Three Towns. The utmost that the Court at Delhi contemplated was the grant of *permission to buy* neighbouring zemindaries by consent from the owners, which was a very different matter. "If the ground be bought with the owners consent that the Duan be wrote to that they may have them" (11) was the King's order on the first petition; and when the second petition was before him the Mutsaddies objected to his signing any kind of grant "As not fit till the ground was our own whereas at present we had not bought it" (12). The Firman as represented in the Company's official translation finally was "That the towns already bought do remain in their possession according to former custom and that the zemindari of the adjacent towns is granted to them, they being bought from the former owners, and then permission given by the Subah and Dewan" (13). Such were the ambiguous terms which the embassy had squandered their money on the Mogul Secretariat to secure. "As the wording of the Phirmaund will be in those writers hands which are employed to draw them up, we are well acquainted that money is the most efficacious method which can be used, the stinting of which would become now great extravagance. Wherefore agreed that Khojah Surhaud adjust matters with the writers in the Secretary's office and those of the Duanny, that nothing may be wanting to have all prosperously concluded" (14).

It is not difficult to understand the reasons underlying the special opposition to the grant of the Thirty Eight Towns, which there is no doubt that the embassy encountered. It was probably due to something more than the *vis inertiae* of an Indian revenue office and the corruption of the Mogul Court. Quite possibly the zemindars of the area in question had heard something

(9) Wilson. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part II p. 139.

(10) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II p. 87.

(11) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II p. 84.

(12) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II p. 115.

(13) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II p. 163.

(14) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II p. 143.

of the proposals in Calcutta and had their own friends at Court. But, apart from all this, it is clear that there were officials at Delhi who quite honestly took the view that the extension of the Company's zemindari could not be justified in the interest of the Mogul Empire or of the province of Bengal. That indeed was the view of the Subah of Bengal. After all the territorial extension was not in itself calculated to secure economic benefits, and what else was there to be said for it from the view-point of the country powers. While much could be urged on the other side "Grants of this nature may be one day very prejudicial to the King of Hindustan. First in respect of Calcutta we shall have an opportunity of frequently quarrelling with the Fauzdar, we being already too strong without any addition" (15). This was the kind of advice which the Embassy learned, after presentation of the second petition, that officials had been giving to the courtier Khan Doorem who was their own particular patron at Delhi. There was practical foresight in this view, and few would be found to deny that in the interests of Mogul power and of the Subah of Bengal, as matters then stood, it was the right advice to give.

The embassy themselves recognised its force when news was received early in 1717, of the appointment of an honest man, as they themselves described him, to the post of Dewan Khalsa. It was feared that he might be given charge of the Vizier's seal, with disastrous results to the embassy's prospects of obtaining the seals required to authenticate their documents. At the best these concluding formalities promised to be and were an expensive stage in the negotiations. With an officer in authority who was upright and knew his business the risks of failure would be redoubled. "Enayat Ulla Khan (16) is accounted strict, adverse to bribery and perfectly knowing in the customs and Government of this Kingdom, wherefore it should have been impossible under his management to obtain these grants." A veil may be drawn over the methods which circumvented advisers of this type, and steered the grants past all obstacles (17). Suffice to say that, when all other formalities were concluded, it cost Rs. 12,000 more before the Emperor's seals were elicited from the right quarter of the zenana and duly impressed. But it would be as much a misrepresentation to pretend that opposition to the grants was due only to corrupt motives as to follow tradition in ascribing the concession to Hamilton's success in treating the Emperor Farrukhsiyar.

The man on the spot in the person of Murshed Kuli Khan the Subah of Bengal never entertained any doubts in the matter. The Mission to Delhi, in so far as it dealt with the extension of the zemindari, meant of course going over his head to the Emperor in a matter of local importance. The embassy were aware all the time that Murshed Kuli Khan viewed their claims

(15) Wilson. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part II p. 108.

(16) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II p. 181. Cf. Part I p. 268.

(17) *Ibid* : Vol. II, Part II pp. 174—175.

with disfavour, and learnt at Allahabad on the way back that he had refused to take any action on copies of the grants which had been sent to Calcutta in advance. This refusal was followed by the despatch of a protest by the Subah to the Emperor. Murshed Kuli Khan had in fact "positively said that we shall not have the use of the mint nor liberty to purchase more towns though both are granted to us by the Emperor" (18). The Mission were still in touch with the Court at Delhi, through the Vakil whom they had appointed at the time of their departure, and seem to have staved off any adverse orders on Murshed Kuli Khan's representation. The grants, therefore, such as they were, remained in force. But, as no zemindar was in the least likely to sell out of his own accord, and the Dewan far from compelling them to do so had not the least intention of permitting such a transfer, the Governor and Council were no nearer to extending their zemindari to the Thirty Eight Towns (19).

For some time, however, they clung to the belief that the concession had really solved the problem of making the settlement pay for itself, which we have seen to be underlying the Company's zemindari policy. "Could they obtain possession of the 38 Towns these would in a few years raise revenues sufficient to bear all the charges and the necessary increase of the military to defend them against the Moors" (20), write the Governor and Council in 1718. If Murshed Kuli Khan required justification for his disregard of the Court at Delhi none more clear could be forthcoming. Failing the whole concession the Company would have been glad at the time to obtain a few of the "towns". In 1720 for instance the Court of Directors wrote that "they desire no more but to see these promising blossoms ripening into fruit" (21), but advise limiting the acquisition to a small area on either side of the river. In the following year the Governor and Council were contemplating some payment to the Nawab presumably in order to secure this modified concession. But gradually interest in the extension of the zemindari waned, as no prospect appeared of securing this end under the grant. At last, in 1754, as has been stated in the former part of this article, Holwell as Zemindar managed to secure the farming of two of the towns mentioned in the list of the Thirty Eight Towns, Simla and Macond. He did so for an annual rent of Rs. 2,281 in place of the Revenue of Rs. 200 which the Company would have paid under the grant. And nothing could be more significant of the obscurity into which the concession had fallen during the last thirty years than the fact that in reporting officially to the Council the advantages of this extension the zemindar makes no reference to the old Firman on which a claim to the acquisition of Simla and Maconda could properly be based (22). Clearly the grant no longer played any part in the sphere of practical politics.

(18) Wilson. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part I p. 275.

(19) Cf. Firminger. *Introduction to the Fifth Report*, p. lxxvii.

(20) Wilson. *Old Fort William*, Vol. I, p. 103.

(21) *Ibid*: Vol. I, p. 109.

(22) *Ibid*: Vol. II, p. 11.

But two years later events occurred which brought these forgotten concessions into unexpected prominence. Of the 436 documents which John Surman had brought back (23) from Delhi, comprising the whole range of concessions secured by his embassy, all that were kept in Calcutta had been destroyed when the town was captured in 1756. These must have included the original Firman of the Emperor for Bengal. Copies of these documents had, however, been sent to Madras, including one copy of the Firman for Bengal attested by the Kazi in Delhi. When the authorities in Madras looked round for the legal and diplomatic basis of the Company's position in negotiations with Suraj-ud-doula it was naturally to this document they turned as the charter of their rights in Bengal. After all the status of the Company, *vis à vis* Suraj-ud-doula, when one looked into the matter, was based on slender foundations. The country power had accepted the challenge to arms and had prevailed. So vague was the Company's position in Bengal that some at least of the refugees at Fulta thought it better to sail from the province. The Company's authorities in Madras could not launch a cold weather campaign against the Subah in Bengal without some kind of *casus belli* and justification. This was found firstly in the atrocity of the Black Hole and secondly in the violation of the old Imperial grants. And so in October 1756, together with troops and munitions the Select Committee entrusted to Clive this authenticated copy of the Mogul's Firman to the Company for their several settlements, and a book of subsidiary documents. "By this book you will be particularly informed what the Company have a right to pretend to in Bengal, which will be of great assistance in your negotiations with the Nabab" (24). And what the Madras authorities considered that the Company had a right to pretend to transpires in a letter addressed at the same time by Pigot the Governor in Madras to the Subah. "Indeed in Bengal the Subah did not comply with the royal phirmaund, but out of thirty two villages given us by the King suffered us to possess but three" (25).

John Surman would have rubbed his eyes at this interpretation of the Phirmaund. Ambiguous as the terms were they never amounted to the grant of villages by the King; the Subah's only fault up to the outbreak of hostilities was that he had not compelled the zemindars to sell them at the Company's price; and incidentally the Company had not thought it worth while to refer to their Firman when they managed to secure two of the villages. Here is the point at which the permission obtained to extend the Company's bounds by the purchase of neighbouring zemindaries begins to be interpreted as a positive grant of territory.

These papers were the Palladium of the Company's cause after Clive and Watson had retrieved the position in Calcutta. An instance of the sense of authority attaching to their possession is to be found in the correspondence

(23) Wilson. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 187.

(24) Hill. *Bengal in 1756—57*, Vol. I, p. 236.

(25) *Ibid*: Vol. I, p. 242.

between Clive and the Select Committee in Fort William. After their return to Calcutta in 1757 the Select Committee, Drake, Watts, Becher and Holwell, failures all, thought fit to require that Clive "should recede from the independent powers given him by the Committee of Saint George" and, in token of their position, demanded from him the documents entrusted to him in Madras (26). Clive, sensitive as always to the least encroachment on his official position, refused to part with them.

The claim to the zemindari remained a prominent feature in the negotiations with the Country power throughout the early months of 1757. The first article in the treaty with Suraj-ud-doula of February in that year provided that "whatever villages are given by the Phirmaunds to the Company shall likewise be granted notwithstanding that they have been denied them by the former Subahs, but the zemindars of these villages are not to be hurt or displaced without cause" (27). Suraj-ud-doula however, with justifiable caution, endorsed "I do agree to the terms of the Phirmaund." The play of diplomacy is transparent. In the Company's interpretation the villages are taken once more as a territorial grant, the distinction between the three and the thirty eight being tacitly ignored. A reservation in favour of the zemindars is still made, though apparently far short of the option of holding or selling. But exactly what "cause for displacement" might have been we need not enquire, for Suraj-ud-doula himself artfully gets back to the terms of the original grant, leaving the diplomatic position of the Company exactly what it had been in 1717.

It is from this position that in the following months the Subah evades Clive's importunity about the territorial concession. We are not concerned now with his other evasions of the treaty, but his attitude to the zemindari was, it must be recognised, meticulously correct. He offered all that the Emperor had conceded, knowing quite well that the concession, within those limits, was illusory, and could go no further. There is a courteous irony in his handling of the dispute. "He desires according to the terms of the Phirmaund you will send for the zemindars, purchase, content them and take possession of the 38 villages. If they should apprehend the Nabob's anger for selling them acquaint me and I will get the the Nabob's order" writes Watts in March (28). As if they were likely to be contented, or apprehensive only of the Nabob's anger, in parting with property such as the village of Simla, worth an income of ten times the revenue payable for it. In April again Clive reminds the Subah, in peremptory terms that he is still awaiting the "Parwannah for the 38 villages" (29). The Subah replies at once with offers of assistance in negotiations with the zemindars, but adheres all the time to the principle that purchase by the Company must precede the grant of the Subah's Parwannah.

(26) Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57* : Vol. II, p. 122.

(27) *Ibid* : Vol. II, p. 216.

(28) *Ibid* : Vol. II, p. 278.

(29) *Ibid* : Vol. II, p. 321.

Suddenly the whole objective is changed and the dispute about the zemindari assumes a new aspect with the inception of the plot against Suraj-ud-doulah. " Omir Chand has a very good scheme to procure us a full equivalent for the 38 villages, which is instead of them to procure us by means of Manik Chand and Nundcomar a very considerable extent of our bounds " writes Scrafton on the 18th April, 1757 (30): and we are in sight of the 24-Pargannahs. Two days later the terms of the first conspiracy have taken shape and include the grant of " the country South as far as Culpee on condition we keep 1,000 men or more to be employed in his (the usurper's) service " (31). The right of compulsory purchase has been transformed into a positive grant of territory in return for military support.

And what finally did the Company secure in the actual treaty establishing Mir Jafar ? The town of Calcutta ceased to be technically a zemindari at all, and became Company's soil. " Whatever ground there is within the Calcutta ditch belonging to the zemindars to be given to the English and 600 yards without the said ditch all round " (32). The 24-Pargannahs, or the greater part of the present District, became a permanent zemindari of the Company. " The country to the South of Calcutta between the river and the lake shall be put under the perpetual Government of the English in the manner as now Government by the country zemindars." There is no mention of compensation for the zemindars in possession of this territory at the time, and in fact their vested rights appear to have been tacitly ignored. Fifteen years later Warren Hastings is found vainly trying to secure payment of compensation for these zemindars and their successors but his efforts failed (33). In 1757 the Company's servants, with the exception perhaps of Clive, had not learnt the lesson of moderation in success; and by the time of Warren Hastings the financial embarrassments of the new order left little opportunity to recognise the moral obligations of its inception.

C. W. GURNER.

(30) Hill. *Bengal in 1756-57*: Vol. II, p. 343.

(31) *Ibid*: Vol. II, p. 349.

(32) *Ibid*: Vol. II, p. 374.

(33) Firminger. *Op. Cit.* p. xcvi.

The Adventure of Captain William Heath.

Wherein he transported the Right Worshipfull Job Charnock, Esq., Agent, and Council at Suttanutte to Ballasore and thence to Chittagaum and Arrackan, and finally landed them at Madrass, during the months of November, December, 1688 and January, February and March, 1689.

AMONG the Egerton manuscripts in the British Museum is a document entitled "Voyage from Bengall to Madrass, 1688 untill 1689" and numbered 263. It relates to the voyage to "the Bay" which was undertaken in 1688 by Captain William Heath under the orders of the Court of Directors. An account of the voyage is given by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson, who appears to have had access to the manuscript, in the first volume of his *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* (pp. 116-125): and the earlier portion was printed in *Alexander's East India Magazine* in July 1836 (pp. 140-147, 240-246), under the caption: "Historical Notice concerning Calcutta in the Days of Job Charnock." The same portion was again printed by the Rev. James Long in 1871. We reproduce below the whole of the record which has been carefully transcribed by Miss L. M. Anstey.

The manuscript appears to be a copy, but no trace of the original can be found in the India Office. The only document bearing on the narrative is O. C. 5664, dated from Madras the 22nd March 1688-89, and signed by Job Charnock, Francis Ellis, and Jeremiah Peachie. The four closely written pages of which it is composed are headed as follows:—"Having perused a paper relating to the affairs of Bengall lately delivered in to the Honble Elihu Yale President, &ca, Council of Madrass by Captain William Heath and findeing some of the most materiall points omitted we cant but make our remarks thereon as followeth." The six letters which are here (for the sake of preserving the sequence) incorporated in the narrative are inserted in the manuscript at the end of the Diaries which are in four parts: "In a voyage to Ballasore": "In a voyadge to Chittagaum": "In a voyage to Arrackan": and "In a voyage to Madrass."

The episode around which the narrative centres has been thus summarized by Dr. Wilson.

At the beginning of the year 1688 the Court of Directors despatched Captain William Heath to "the Bay" in command of a fleet of ten or eleven ships to take over the management of all their affairs in Bengal. The decision had been taken that the ideal place for a settlement was Chittagong which (it appears to have been thought) would be found some way up the Ganges (*Hedges' Diary*, Vol. II, p. 78) and Heath was ordered to take possession of it.

Meanwhile Charnock who was perfectly well aware of the situation of Chittagong had been trying several places on the right side of the river.

whether you are willing to be cut or not, but as for
us, should they offer any such thing, we should cut their
throats. Not else, but we are

Your affectionate friends

Ed. Parnock
R. M. Lewis &
Sam. Griffith
J. Trenchard
J. B. Lewis
Ed. Parnock

FACSIMILE OF THE LAST PAGE OF A LETTER DATED "HUGELY,
THE 7th July, 1886," AND ADDRESSED TO "MR. FITZHUGH, &CA
COUNCIL, AT BALLASORE."

Hooghly and Ulubaria were rejected as being completely exposed to the attack of an enemy advancing from the west. Hijili, the third place, although an island, was a malarious swamp and moreover was scarcely more defensible, the river which separated it from the mainland being so narrow that it could easily be swept by the enemy. Finally he selected Suttanuttee for the second time : and here he stayed for more than twelve months during which time the Company's servants and soldiers lived in huts until pucca brick buildings could be erected. The Nawab Bahadur Khan, on learning that the war on the Malabar coast had broken out afresh, ordered Charnock to return to Hooghly, prohibited him from building in brick or stone at Suttanuttee, demanded large sums of money as compensation and finally gave leave to his soldiers to plunder the English. Charnock attempted to negotiate and sent Charles Eyre and Roger Braddyll, two members of the Council, to Dacca to request permission to remain at Suttanuttee and purchase sufficient ground for a factory from the local zemindars : inasmuch as there was no convenient anchorage for large ships at Hooghly and the settlement was hampered by the close proximity to the Indian town.

Heath arrived at Suttanuttee on September 29 and calling council of war communicated the Court's orders which he interpreted as meaning that an immediate departure must be made for Chittagong. They were told that they would be given until November 10 to make what investment they could and wind up their affairs.

In less than three weeks the impetuous seaman had gone off on quite another tack. He understood that Bahadur Khan, the new ruler at Dacca, was intending to send an expedition against the King of Arakan, and hastily wrote off to offer his help, provided that the nabob should confirm all the old privileges of the English in Bengal and immediately send an order, under his hand and seal, for building a fortified place which might secure the Company's servants and their trade from the villainies of every petty governor. "Otherwise," said he, "wee designe in a few days to depart this country peaceably, our positive orders being to stay no longer here to trade in fenceless factories."

The two Englishmen at Dacca, with the help of their Indian friends, took care to make their requests in a more conciliatory manner, and were so successful that at the beginning of November they were in immediate expectation of a favourable order from Bahadur Khan, who had in fact despatched Malik Barkhwurdar to Hugli to arrange matters. Meanwhile Captain Heath had returned to his former opinion. He was not going to stay for Malik Barkhwurdar, who was an inveterate enemy of the English and the chief contriver of the sham articles signed at Sutanuttee. Although the time he had originally fixed had not yet expired, he bade the Company's servants pack and be gone, and on November 8, 1688, the English, taking with them all their belongings, once more started on their wanderings in search of a secure centre for their trade. Eyre and Braddyll and the rest of the factors in different parts of the country were abandoned to their fate. Malik Barkh-

wurdar, astonished beyond measure at this sudden departure, sent repeated messages after the retreating ships, but without any result.

Charnock and Heath arrived in Balasor road on the 16th November. Besides the *Defence* and the *Princess of Denmark*, which had been sent out from Europe, they had some thirteen or fourteen smaller vessels, and shortly after they had the good fortune to capture two French frigates the *Energie* and the *Loretto*. The number of soldiers amounted to about three hundred, of whom more than half were Portuguese. The Mogul governor of Balasor was living with his retinue in tents pitched on the Point of Sand where the fortifications had been greatly strengthened. He was daily expecting news and instructions from Dacca, and in the meantime refused to allow the English at Balasor to leave the place or to send off any of their goods, and prohibited the English in the ships from buying provisions ashore.

At this juncture Captain Heath, who began to find difficulty in procuring food for so large a number of persons as were now under his care, returned to his pacific mood. Instead of immediately landing his forces and marching wide of the fortifications on the Point of Sand so as to surprise the town of new Balasor, and, if possible, bring off the English with their goods, he hung about in the Bay and kept sending envoys ashore to the Mogul governor to ask if any news had arrived from Dacca, to demand the surrender of the Company's servants and property, and finally to warn the governor that the sole blame would lie on him if he took no heed and refused to prevent a breach of the peace. On the 28th November, finding that his negotiations were proceeding too slowly, he placed the bulk of his troops on small sloops and ascended the Bura-balung. The next day between eight and nine in the morning Charnock and those with him in the ships could hear the rattle of the English musketry answered by the booming of the enemy's pieces of ordnance. In less than three hours the great guns were silenced, and flames and smoke were seen rising up inland. Boats bringing back news of the fight soon followed. The English had landed under the cover of some clumps of cocoa-palms, dispersed a body of horse and foot, and with a rush carried the great battery which guarded the river and the Point of Sand on which they had hoisted the king's flag. All the artillery and stores had fallen into their hands, and they were already shipping off the ammunition. The victors were resting on the Point, and intended to march up to new Balasor that night. Their loss was only one killed and six wounded.

They failed, however, to rescue their countrymen, for the Governor on hearing of their approach burnt the English factory, and carried off the factors up the country. On the 4th December Heath again returned to the ships and to the policy of negotiation. On the very day that the soldiers were attacking Balasor letters had received from Eyre and Braddyll at Dacca, holding out hopes that Bahadur Khan would even now grant the requests of the English if Charnock would write and confirm the offers made in October. For a second time Heath called a council of war. It met in the great cabin of the *Defence*. The letters received from Dacca were read

and discussed, and to all appearances the Captain was willing to make his peace with the nabob. Charnock, as Agent, was allowed to write and confirm the offers, and envoys once more passed to and fro between the shipping and the town. But in reality Captain Heath, so far from intending peace, had returned to the design of taking Chittagong. On the 23rd December having already sent two vessels to the King of Arakan and two more to explore the mouths of the Chittagong river, he sailed away from Balasor, leaving one of his English envoys (James Ravenhill) behind him.

Arriving at Chittagong about the 18th January, he sent parties of men with a flag of truce in a pinnace up the river to the town to find out its strength, and to intimate to the Governor that the English had come according to agreement to help the Mogul against the King of Arakan. On the 21st January Heath called his third council of war, and asked them whether they would advise him to attack the town. The absurdity of the whole project was now manifest. A city like Chittagong defended by some ten thousand men was not to be "taken by the collar," nor could it have been kept if taken. The council, therefore, advised Heath to adhere to his offer of help to the Mogul, and to wait for a definite answer. Heath declared that "there was nothing but lies wrote on both sides," that it was never his intention to transport the nabob's soldiers to Arakan, and that he did not intend to stay for an answer. After this outburst of passion he permitted communications to be opened with the governor of Chittagong, which continued till nearly the end of the month, when he suddenly weighed anchor and sailed away to offer his services to the King of Arakan. But the King received the overtures and presents of the English very coldly. Heath was now completely disgusted with the whole expedition, and, after making a futile attempt to stir up a rebellion against the King, he determined to return to Madras, as usual abandoning an envoy (George Croke) who had been sent off on one of his strange errands. "So," says our captain, "when [we] found that [we] could not persuade those foolish people from the present ruin and destruction which is just upon them, we watered our ships and refreshed our men, which were much distempered with the scurvy. So on the seventeenth February [we] sailed directly for this place, Fort St. George, giving orders for every ship to make the best of her way, that no more time might be lost, and that perchance, if any Moor's ship were in those seas we might by being scattered meet with them."

On March 5, 1689, "the Rt. Worppl. the Agent went ashore to the Hon'ble the President of Fort St. George," and there remained waiting for the tide of fortune to turn.

At first Aurangzeb had been greatly incensed at the audacity of the English and had ordered his servants to seize and destroy all their goods. But the commerce carried on by the Company enriched his treasuries and he could not well afford to lose it. He therefore wrote to the Nabob of Fergal (Stewart's History of Bengal, pp. 203-205): "You must understand that

it has been the good fortune of the English to repent them of their irregular past proceedings, and their not being in their former greatness have by their vacqueels petitioned for their lives and a pardon for their faults which out of my extraordinary favour towards them I have granted. Therefore upon receipt here of my order you must not create them any further trouble but let them trade in your government as formerly, and this order I expect to see strictly observed."

The new Nawab Ibrahim Khan at once set at liberty the Company's agents who were confined at Dacca and wrote to Charnock at Madras inviting him to return to Bengal. In August 1690 Charnock with his Council and factors, escorted by thirty soldiers, arrived in the Bay and sent forward Stanley and Mackrith to occupy Hooghly. On July the 24th at noon the wanderers found themselves once more at Sultanuttee: and on February 10, 1691, an Imperial firman was issued allowing the English to "contentedly continue their trade" in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 only in lieu of all dues,

The remainder of the story of Captain Heath's adventure is told in Dampier's *Voyages* (4 vols, London, 1729). After a voyage to China the *Defence* returned to Madras in March, 1690, when a French fleet of seven sail have in sight. Heath engaged the enemy and after a hot fight of three hours they "fairly cutt and nimbly march't like Frenchmen." A month later the *Defence* sailed for Achcen (Sumatra) in order to load a cargo of pepper for England. On the voyage home one of Heath's passengers was William Dampier the buccancer returning to England with a "painted prince," bought at Mindanao in the Philippines, who died later on of small pox at Oxford. Scurvy broke out on board and Table Bay was made with difficulty. Leaving the Cape on May 23, 1691, in company with the *Josiah* and the *James and Mary* (which gave her name to the shoal in the Hooghly, upon which she broke her back in August 1694), the *Defence* called at St. Helena. In 1694 she was captured by the French but seems to have been recovered, for she was eventually lost at Blackwall through the "pride and obstinacy" of Captain Heath.

VOYAGE FROM BENGALL TO MADRASS, 1688 UNTILL 1689.

SIRS,

You may please to order a letter to bee wrote that wee are free Immediately to serve the Nabob in his expedition against the Raccanners with 10 ships of warr for 12 months provided he will confirme all our old priviledges in Bengall and for assurances thereof he sends us immediately his firmaund under his own hand and seale [blank] for the building a fortified place which may secure our selves and trade from the villanics of every petty Governor which is all the end wee designe it for and that his full order for doing the same bee Immediately return'd being wee designe otherways in a few days to depart this Countrey peaceably our positive orders being to stay no longer here to trade in fenceless Factories where wee are harassed by every Governor as at this time appears by him of ballasore who abuses our nation beyond what was ever done to any European wee forbear to give perticulars hoping you will give orders to forbear otherways wee may be compelled to make satisfaction of that place ourselves.

William Heath.

Aboard the Resolution at Chutanutte this 11th of October 1688.

* * * * *

Dacca October the 29th 1688.

To the Right Worshipfull Job Charnock, Agent and Governor for affairs of the Right Honourable Company in the Bay of Bengall &c. Council.

SIRS,

Our last to your worshipfull &c. was the 27th Currant just now came in yours of the 20th Ditto wherein wee advised that your requests as to a fort, &c. could not be complied with that expedition as you expected because the Duan and Boremull think it not convenient to intimate anything thereof untill some account be given to the Nabob by Mellick of your intentions which is dayly expected on the arriva! of which both the Duan and Boremull have promised to work so upon the Nabob that may induce him to grant your requests which they will urge more perticularly as to the fort that ~~wee~~ have no ill designe thereby but to secure your persons from the violations that ~~may bee~~ offered from the subordinate Governors wherefore wee humbly intreat ~~your~~ worship, &ca. would be pleased to give us 25 dayes time more for the effecting the same and not to proceed till the last of November, which we earnestly pray and subscribe Right Worshipfull, &ca. Sirs.

Your Most Humble and Obedient Servants,
C. Eyre R. Braddyll.

We shall deliver the arrusdast in the Morning, it being now night Idem.

* * * * *

A copie of a journal of our Voyage from Bengall to Madrass, commencing the 8th November, 1688, and concluding on the 3rd of March 1688-89, with letters, &c., received concerning Capt. William Heath's Transactions In the Right Honorable Company's affairs.

IN A VOYAGE TO BALLASORE.

Chutanuttee November Anno 1688.

Thursday 8th.—This morning news was brought the Colluck-beauge was arrived at Barnagur, with commission from Mullick to treat with us. This morning, about 9 of the clock, the Right Worshipfull the Agent, attended by the 2d and one or 2 more taking boat, did leave Chutanutte, with all ships and vessells there being vizt. ship Resolution Captain William Sharp Commander Captain Heath being thereon; Ship Williamson Captain Stephen Ashby Commander; ship Diamond Captain George Herron Commander; ship Recovery Captain Thomas Walthrop Commander; Ketch Samuells, Edward Tench Master; Ketch Thomas John Gorbould Master; sloop Beaufort, Edward Hussey, Master; with the ship Resistance, John Bunt, Master; ship Cunnimeer Merchant, Anthony Penniston, Master; and ship Retreive, George Paulin, Master. At about eleven of the clock received a letter from Mullick Burcurdar and Meer Mamood Ecbar, wherein they very kindly intreated the Right Worshipfull the Agent to stay, till they can send persons or come themselves, to discourse him about the Right Honorable Company's Affairs; are very desirous to know wherein his dissatisfaction was and what would passifie him; upon reading of which letter, the Budgerow, in which the Right Worshipfull Agent &c. were, brake just in the middle, being in deep water, without touching or striking against any thing; but, God be praised every one gott safe to shore, by the assistance of the Wind and help of the Oars, just below Kidderepoore, much about the same time the Ketch Thomas came on ground just above the said point, which accident occationed the fleet to Anchor there.

Att a Consukation, the Right Worspll. Job Charnock, Esqre Agent, Captain Wm. Heath, Mr. Francis Ellis, ...

Being mett, one Ragdue brought downe prisoner, for the sum of 900 rupees delivered to him by Mr. Wm. Bowridge (1) for to provide provisions, appeared and made Complaint, that Mr. Jeremiah Peachie was indebted to him above 1100 rupees, which he petitioned might bee accepted of for his aforesaid debt, he not being otherwise able to make good the same, which he humbly desired might bee taken into Consideration, that he might be sett

(1) William Bowridge married Elizabeth Charnock, whose death in Calcutta on August 2, 1753 is thus entered in the Register: "Mrs. Elizabeth Bowridge, daughter of Job Charnock the first Governor of Calcutta." She was baptized with her sisters Mary and Katherine, at Fort Saint George on February 6, 1689, by John Evans, the first Chaplain "in the Bay" and afterwards Bishop of Bangor and of Meath. Francis Ellis was the God-father and the God-mothers were Ann Seaton and Margery Heathfield. The tombstones of Mary and Katherine may be seen in the Charnock Mausoleum in St. John's Churchyard: Mary married Charles Eyre and Katherine became the wife of Jonathan White.

at libertie whereon Mr. Jeremiah Peachie was sent for but not being found the aforesaid Rugdue desired that Mr. Cross, Mr. Bowridge, and Mr. Littleton who had formerly examined the accounts between them, might be sent for; the which was accordingly done and Mr. Cross and Mr. Bowridge appearing they were asked what they knew, concerning the said, and did affirme that Mr. Peachie was indebted to him as aforesaid, therefore in regard we were now leaving the place, wee thought it but just to accept of the same and that by transporting his debt to Mr. Peachies Account to clear him, which is accordingly resolved and ordered, that Ragdue be set at libertie,

Job Charnock
William Heath
Francis Ellis

This evening came a Portuguese from Tannah fort, being sent by Collocbeauge, to the Right Worshipfull the Agent, desiring leave to come and pay a visit which was granted and answer returned by the Portuguese that the same would be acceptable; but he came not. This night through the means of Captain George Herron, Captain Wm. Heath ordering boats and men to assist, the ketch Thomas was got off[f].

9th.—Received a letter from Mullick Burcurdar, to Captain Wm. Heath, and another to Mr. Richard Trenchfeild desiring the former to adhere to a Treatie of peace, and the latter to perswade him to the same; in order to which he was come with full commission from the Nabob Bahauder Caune; at reading of which said letter, on board the Resolution the said ship struck on an unknowne sand and fetched such a sallie that she narrowly escaped oversetting severall of the men falling over board, which accident caused the fleet to come to an anchor, thereabouts being a little above Ulaberreah.

10th.—The Right Worshipfull the Agent &ca. went ashore at Ulaberrea, to dry what was in the budgerow, when sunk at Kidderepoore. Received a Generall [letter] from Mr. Charles Eyre and Mr. Roger Braddyll, dated the 3rd curreant, whereby they advise that the nabob, having been discoursed about our business, seemed to consent to what wee desired, which they had great hopes to effect, by procuring his Perwanna in confirmation of the same, if wee would butt stay 25 days' time. Wrote a Generall to Mr. C. Eyre and Mr. Roger Braddyll pressing them speedily to procure what they have so much hopes of, for which the accustomed fees to the Mutsuddies would not bee scrupled, if it reach our hands at Ballasore-road.

Dacca November, 3, 1688.

To the Right Worshipfull Job Charnock, Agent and Governour for affaires of the Right Honourable English East India Company in the Bay of Bengal &ca. Councill.

Sirs,

Our last to your worship &ca. was the 23th past month, (since have yours of the 24th Ditto.) in which we humbly intreated 25 dayes time from the date thereof for a grant of your requests which we are in a fair way of procuring

by the assistance of Boremull who this morning sent for us in all hast and told us that he had discours'd the Nabob largely concerning each perticular and had gotten his consent and promise of his Perwanna which we may expect to get out in a few dayes We presume the Mutsuddies will expect grahutyes [sic] for their speed therein which we hope you will please to allow of and wait for its arrivall which pray God prosper,

We are

Right Worshipfull &ca. Sirs

Your very humble and Obedient Servants

Charles Eyre

Roger Braddyll

[10th.] Received a letter of this days date from Captain Wm. Heath, enclosing his answer from Mullick Burcurdar, which were wrote in the Countrey language, and forwarded by the same Conveyance.

Worshipfull Sir,

I have here inclosed sent answer to Mellicks letter as transcribed by Mr. Frenchfeild, which I desire you would be pleased to order your Gentoo writer to turn into the Countrey language, forwarded to Mellick, and if my hand in English must be put to it, any man may do that for me please to peruse my answer and Mellicks letter and keep them till I next see you.

The 10th November, 1668

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,
Wm. Heath.

The Right Worshipfull the Agent wrote a letter to Mullick Burcurdar, in answer to one received from him, advising that wee hitherto had endeavoured what wee could to compose differences with the Nabob and his Mutsuddies, but had been constantly put of by their continuall delays and, now, after so long patience, wee were minded to leave the Countrey if the Nabobs perwanna to our liking did not overtake us, before wee left Ballasore-road, whither wee were now bound.

11th.—The Fleet sailing thence, anchored at Rangamatte (2) and the Right Worshipfull the Agent and others went ashore at Coleulah (3) where the ship James, Captain Abraham Roberts Commander was riding at Anchor.

12th.—This morning the Right Worshipfull the Agent and the 2d attended by Mr. Charles Pate, Mr. Richard Watts, and Samuel Pine quitted the Budgerow and embarked on the Ship Madapollam; and, after some hours saile came to Anchor with the whole fleet, at Muckerahputter alias Bufflo point.

13th.—In the morning setting saile thence, the other Budgerow was perceived to bee cast away; and soone after, came on ground our selves; but, without any harme gott of[f] with the flood, and came away accompanied

(2) Query: Rangafulla cree.

(3) Query: Cowcolly.

with the Resolution, Success, and Thomas, on which latter Captain William Heath embarked, in order to his more speedy arriving in Ballasore-roe leaving behind the rest of the fleet and, after some hours saile wee came to an Anchor, a little below Kedgerree rivers mouth.

14th.—This morning weighing Anchor and setting saile thence wee anchored at Cueiee (4) both to supply our selves with wood and stay for the rest of our Company which being done, and the tyde serving wee again set saile and in the Evening Anchored at Sumbereroe trees (5) where Captain Walthrop came on board of us to know [when] wee intended to goe over the braces which was resolved of to bee with the morning light he informed us, how that on the 12th curreant, at night, he left the ship Diamond ashoare, with her head at Bufflo point but in little danger, being taken care for by Captain Heath, and supposeth she gott of with the flood then coming in.

15th. Sett saile and passed over the Braces and coming in sight of the Nelligreer hills (6) were anchored in seapen fathome water.

16th.—Sett saile wee arrived in Ballasore-road about a mile of[f] the ships Defence and Princess of Denmark, by whose sides lay the Ketches Samuelli and Thomas and, coming to an Anchor, wee were saluted from the Defence with 9 guns, which we returned with 7 the last of which having some loose cornes of Powder, in the carriage, which took fire, and, with a blaze, did set on fire the Soldiers bandileers and Pouches which caused such a smoke that not anything could be discerned in either the Cabin or steeradge, soe that we could think of little but being blown up, if the Gun-roome which was under the Cabin should take fire, the sad apprehention whereof caused the men to be expeditious in throwing water soe that in short time, the fire extinguisht for which deliverance, God bee praised.

In the evening the Right Worshipfull the Agent and the 2d on Captain Heaths invitation, imbarqued on the ship Defence.

17th.—A French ship arrived in the offin and sent their boat ashoare. Captain Peniston advising he designed for the Coast, wee thought Convenient to sen a Generall by him, and desired him to stay till the same was ready.

18th.—The French ship arrived in the roade but anchored a great distance of our fleet.

Captain Heath dispeeded the Ketch Thomas for Pipleys, chiefly to buy provisions.

The ship Recovery arrived in the Road from the Braces bringing news of the ship Diamonds being in safetie.

(4) Query : Culpee.

(5) Sumbereroe—Port, Sumbreiro, Umbrella. A later corruption mentioned in Hobson-Jobson as current in the Bombay Arsenal is *Summer head*. These trees are shown in Thornton's chart of the Hooghly (1703) as "Kitesall or Barrabulla trees" on the western shore. Kittysol (Port. quitasol) also means umbrella: cf. a letter from the Court of Directors, temp. 1687: "The Aldermen of Madrass may be allowed to have Kettysols over them."

(6) Orissa Hills: See note (9).

Captain Heath sent the *Recovery* to examine and bring in the Frenchman who after two or 3 times sending sent his Mate on board, with his pass, which was found insignificant.

Received a Generall from Mr. John Haynes from the Governors tent at the point of Sand advising that the Governor obstinately refuseth to lett goe either the English or goods ashore and Saith, we cant effect any thing by force but if would hearken to a peace that then the Deputie to the King's Duan at Dacca, was on the way with Terms for us.

" From the Governor's tent at the Bancksall (7), the 18th November, 1688, about 11 of the Clock.

To the Right Worshipfull Job Charnock and the Worshipfull Wm. Heath, &ca., Councill.

This serves to acquaint you that I am arrived with the Governours', &ca, officer at the Bancksall with whom have discoursed who tells me plainly that it will be impossible for you to gett either us or the goods of the shoare saying that he hath the Nabobs order upon forfeiture of his life not to let go either, and sayes further that upon the first attempt that is made to get us of per force he will put all the English on the shoare to the Sword, and seize upon the goods for the Kings use and send them further up into the Country but if you will treat or come to any termes of peace he is willing to hear them, and that the Duan of Daccas Naib is upon the way hither, with terms for us, further he adds that, if your occasions require, you may go and leave us here where, he sayes we shall live with all the freedom we ever had formerly ; if you think fit to send any one ashore, with your resolutions they may be admitted 'Tis my Opinion that you will never effect any thing per force more than to reveng your selves, of the Moors for order [your] deaths, and the losse of the Right Honorable Company's Goods : therefore it is my opinion you had better lett us and goods remaine than to run the risque of loosing both. I leave it to your more Considerat'ons, and remain.

Your humble Servant,

Jno. Haynes.

I have letters but cannot be admitted to send them of.—J. H.

19th.—The French ship came in being followed by the *Recovery*.

20th.—The Frenchmans boat came from Ballasore and had letters which by Captain Heath were taken and read.

The Ketch *Samuell* arrived from *Pipley*.

Received a Generall from Mr. Stanley and Mr. John Haynes at Ballasore, advising that since the arrival of soe many ships in the roadc they were Confined to their house and that if wee entered on hostillitie their hazard would be great therefore desired all fair means might bee first used.

(7) Bankshall (Custom House) is shown in Thornton's chart (1703) at the mouth of the Palasore River.

To the Right Worshipfull Job Charnock, Esqr., Agent, &ca., Council for affaires of the Right Honourable English East India Company in Bengall and Orixa.

Yours dated the 2nd October, which we presume was Meant the 2th (sic) instant, we received the 13th Ditto to which nothing to reply to at Present, having concerns of greater Importance to advise of, viztt our own Safety, of which you have been as little mindful of as possible otherwise we must have been on board the Europe ships as well as the rest of the Right Honorable Company's Servants but we never had so much as an order for shipping of the Right Honorable Companys goods or securing our persons; and, although the first Could not have been effected, the latter must [?might] with much ease therefore, we leave yourselves to be Judges how hardly we have been used.

We heard that yesterday were two English men ashoare with the Governor who demanded us and the goods ashoare which we heard he refused saying that the Nabob ordered him not to let go either on which the Englishmen gave him hard words threatening him to bring both us and the goods of per force which we fear will hardly be effected for it is unreasonable to beleive that as soon as your peple have forced them selves past the Moors fort, and that they see they are not able to with stand them, they will either cut us all of or hurry us away up further into the country which we leave to your Consideration and desire all fair means possible may be first used.

We are at present prisoners in our own house there being strong guards round us. We have not as yet reason to complain of hard usadge, they suffering us to buy victuals and have servants to attend us; but, we know not how long this priviledge may last; for we perceive that since the ships arrived in the road they have watched us more closely. We would be glad to hear from you before you attempted any thing that we may know what to trust to for if we were certain when you designed to make your assault we would endeavour defend our selves till such time we thought you might come to our aid which we believe would be in four and twenty houres but our risque will be very great, having not either Arms or Ammunition sufficient. All which we leave to your Consideration and remain.

Right Worshipfull, etc., Council,

Your most faithful Servants,

Hen. Stanly.

Jno. Haynes.

Ballasore the 17th November, 1688.

Shewed Captain Heath Said Generall Wrote a letter to Mr. Henry Stanley and Mr. John Hayns, condoling their misfortune and referring them to Captain Heath[s] advices the sole management of affairs being committed to him.

21th.—The Frenchman was sending his boat out to another ship in sight but by order of Captain Heath it was brought back.

22nd.—Captain Heath sent Mr. James Ravenhill and Mr. William Bowridge, with a message to the fousdar, at the point of Sand.

The afformentioned French ship not being able to gett into the roade came to an anchor in the offin and sent their boat to complement the Admirall and afterwards the Defences boat went on board said ship to returne the said complement. The other French ship named the Loretto having occasion to send their boat ashoare was permitted.

32rd.—The French ship named the Merge [Energie] frigate, came to an Anchor in the road, and sent their boat on board the ship Defence and after some discourse both ships were demanded. Captain Heath Calling a Consultation ordered the Recovery Madapollam and Samuel to goe and ride by the last ship Arrived.

24th.—The French last night having called a Consultation amongst themselves, did this morning Surrender; so both the ships were taken prize without firing a gun. The French gentt [Gentlemen] with some other Gentle Captains Leivetenants, came to reside on board the Defence; the rest of the Frenchmen were accommodated aboard other Europe shipsin the fleet.

25th.—This morning spied a vessell coming from the Coastwards. The ships Resolution Williamson and Diamond with the sloops Beaufort and Ballascre arrived in the Road, from the new Depths.

26th.—Mr. Masfen in the ship Frances arrived in the Road from the Coast.

Captain Heath sent for all the Right Honorable Companys Servants aboard, to know who would goe ashoare in this expedition; and accordingly first askt the Right Worshipfull the Agent and his Council, and next every one: whereof Mr. John Beard with divers others, subscribed to go. All the fleet had order to weigh Anchor and goe nearer the shoare in four fathoms water; which accordingly was indeavoured. This night Mr. Ravenhill and Mr. William Bowridge were sent ashoare to the fousdar at the point of Sand to demand the English with the Right Honorable Companys Estate at Ballasore in order to our departure hence, and, to learne whether any news was arrived from Dacca. as Terms, &ca, for us; and, finally, to tell the Governor, that the sole blame would lie on him if he did not take it into Consideration and wisely prevent a breach by Clearing the aforesaid Persons, &ca.

27th.—This morning, went ashoare Mr. James Ravenhill and Mr. William Bowridge, according to order given last night. A ship appeared to westward of the road, as is supposed to be a vessell from the Coast. The fleet again set sail and went nearer the bar.

This night Mr. James Ravenhill and Mr. William Bowridge came of[f] shoare, and advised that they had delivered their messadge and were civilie treated, did see but little forces and that, to the riverward the place was well fortified; and further, that they did see in the tents with the Governour the Deputy to the King's duan at Dacca who was now going by order of his said principall to make some inspection into the affairs of Orixa, &ca, he with the Governour was please[d] to discourse them familiarly asking many questions and partic[ul]arly himself told them, that if we would adhere to a treaty they

would make a fair step to it by sending of [f] all the goods and English ashoare save two ; which proposals Mr. Ravenhill shewed a liking to and askt the fousdar whether he approved thereof who, consenting thereto, replied Yes, but on the contrary if your people will not admitt of any such thing then you must never expect to see any of Those your English friends alive, that are ashoare; and with repeated asseverations, he told them that those should be put to the sword on the first attempt we should make to land our forces. Also they shewed us a letter from Mr. Stanley and Mr. Haynes advising they were close shutt up in their house invironed with forces, and had three pieces of Ordinance planted against them and that they were resolved to stand in their owne defence and wisht we would make our Assault on the morrow by reason they were straitened for provisions, and knew not what might Intervene, if delays were admitted off.

This day, preparations were made to fitt all our vessells with men, &ca., which were sent on board the boats.

This night Captain Haddock being on board wee discoursed him concerning what was best to bee done at this Juncture and told him that upon consideration of the whole wee were really of the opinion that it would be much better to stay some time to see what advises should come from Dacca, since that Mr. Eyre and Mr. Braddyll doe give us great hopes of obtaining a Perwanna according to our desire; and moreover Since the fousdar offered to lett goe all the goods and men ashoare save two it would be prudence to accept the same; and afterwards with more ease those two people might be gott off; and would bee greater wisdom than to hazard the lives of them all now ashoare together with the Right Honorable Company's Estate; all which wee desired him to Signifie to Captain Heath.

28th.—This morning arrived the ships James, Captain Roberts Commander ; Resistance, John Bunt Master ; Retrieve, George Paulin Master. This morning, Captain Heath with the remaining forces, left the ship Defence and went to the small vessells which were nearer the shoare where he embarked on the Merge [Energie] frigatt and thereon hoisted the King's flagg and caused the rest of the vessells to go nearer the shoare.

This night a yaule coming aboard for some provissions did understand that the adverse partie had sent people off in a boat to Captain Heath, requesting peace and that he would bee pleased to stay but two days in which time undoubtedly the Nabob's Perwanna to our hearts Content would arrive.

29th.—This morning arrived a French Ketch from Hugly, bringing several letters for the Frenchmen lately taken in the Syams ships and say that they came purposely to fetch them up to Hugly.

This morning between 8 and 9 of the Clock the forces were landed by the Toddie trees (8) and after the receiving of some few shott of all sorts, they were by eleven of the Clock masters and possesst of all the Enemies holds

(8) " Tamarind Trees " are shown in Thornton's chart (1708).

there as wee guessed by some fires which ensued and the ceasing of firing great guns.

This evening came off[f] a boat bringing wounded men three whereof he putt on board the Defence and the other they carried on board the Princess of Denmark, but, before the boat went from the ship inquiring after the manner of his exploit were informed that all the forces were landed before the Toddie trees to the eastward of the Grand Bulwark where when they were all drawn up they marcht directly to the Toddie trees where they were opposed by a partie of horse and foot, who having but one great gun, they dischargd that and soon turned their backs so that our people had easie access to the place, where they dismounted that gunn and forthwith bent their forces towards the grand Bulwark to which they had easier access, only haveing about halfe a dozen great guns, which were disorderly placed and unskilfully levelled fired at them, before the Enimies quitted the same; which, when our people had taken and putt up the Kings flagg they were annoyed from a Bulwark on the other side of the river from whence allso the enemy was soon routed and our people being possessed thereof, did find a considerable quantity of Ammunition, beside Ordinance the ammunition they shipt off[f] and remained at point of Sand the remaining part of the day to refresh themselves, intending in the night to march up to Towne and further are informed that there are besides those all ready sent off about half a dozen men wounded, and one killed outright by a small shott. This night, one of the maimed soldiers, which were brought on board, gave up the ghost, and another it is feared, will shortly.

This night, at about 12 of the clock, came aboard a boat from the shoare and acquainting us as yett our people had not marched up to the towne but had sent a couple of natives to the fousdar, to informe that the intent of the landing was for the persons and goods of the English ashoare which if he would yett deliver, all acts of hostility should cease.

Diary for Month December Anno 1688.

1st.—This morning Capt. Haddock and Capt. Roberts went ashoare. This noone came off[f] a boat and acquainted us that soone after our people were possessed of all the fortifications at the point of Sand. Captain Heath sent by the hand of a native a letter to Ballasore the Contents the same as yesterday wee were informed, but while this letter was on the way to Ballasore the English there were attackt and in their defence had killed the Catwaull with some of his retinue, whereon the moors sett fire about the house, the Smook whereof forced the English out into the yard, where with Bars plac'd before them they kept the enimie off[f] but seing their owne condition they thought best to offer these terms, that in case the Moors would Sweare not to offer any violence to them, they would deliver themselves into their hands to which the Moors consented and solely did sware, so the English Surrendred, but never the less were going to be lead out of Towne as Captain Heaths afforesaid letters arrived [which] the Moors would not permit to bee opened till moved there, by some there urging that the same might bee of

Import, whereon twas opened and read, and after some small debate they yesterday morning caused an answer to bee wrote that if Captain Heath would come up to Towne a peaceable way he should have the persons of them their [sic] delivered to him againe and bee permitted to trade with all fredom, of which answer Mr. Hayns desired to bee the bearer urging that he would mediate between them and us, which at length was granted him, so he coming to Captain Heath delivered the letter and offered to returne with his answer but was detain'd by Captain Heath who forthwith Marched towards the towne with all the forces save some few to maintaine the places allready taken.

2d.—A boat came from the shoare with two wounded men and acquainted us that Stanley &ca. being surrounded with the enimie and fire, did kill the Catwaull and two or three of his men and surrendred themselves on terms that they would not deprive them of life which was accepted; Mr. Hayns forthwith dispeed[ed] with a Message to Capt. Heath went by water towards the Towne taking with him the gratest part of the forces.

3d.—This morning came a boat from the shoare and acquainted us that Capt. Haddock intended to remaine ashoare till Capt. Heaths returne the better to secure the fortification allready taken by keeping in Subjection the Seamen who in generall were very refractory.

4th.—This day at noone came of[f] divers boats bringing the Rt. Honble. Compas. Goods with Capt. Heaths and Capt. Haddocks goods as also what plunder was found in the Towne; by the man belonging to said boats wee were informed that as our people were marching up to the Towne, they took another fortification without the loss of a man, being but faintly resisted, and further that now all was over, the Mcors having carryed away the English that were at Ballasore and had sent word to Capt. Heath that as he favoured the towne, soe they would treat our people in their Custody, which caused Capt. Heath to give order only for the bringing away the Rt. Honble. Compas. Goods notwithstanding parties went over and committed very great outrages as well against freinds as Enimies. This evening came of[f] Capt. Heath with some others leaving the forces at point of Sand to Secure that passage of the river for watring our fleet; he brought with him 2 Generalls [General letters] from Mr. Eyre and Mr. Braddyll dated the 12 and 20th Ultimo with a Perwana from the Nabob Bahawder Caune, also a letter from Boremull with a letter from the fousdar of Ballasore Mr. Eyre and Mr. Braddyll in both their advice that the nabob will not grant our requests till the Rt. Worspll. the Agent Confirms what Capt. Heath by his letter to the Nabob hath promised and doe intreate us to awaite the Issue which they doubt not but will bee much for the Rt. Honble. Compas. Interest.

[Without date: probably, the 12 of November]

To the Right Worsh'pfull Job Charnock, Agent and Governour for Affairs of the Right Hon rable Company, in the Bay of Bengall, &ca, Councill.

Sirs,

Our last to your Worship, &ca, was the 3d currentt. The Nabob notwith

standing his promise to Boremull for a grant of your requests and to send his perwanna for Confirmation thereof hath not hitherto thought fitt to Comply, although we have given in a writing under our hands and seales to assist him with our shipping for 2 months for the transportation of 1000 horse and 2000 foot, as per the enclosed copy but hath wrote an answer to Captain Wm. Heaths Arrusdaast, wherein he promis[es] to do it. upon your Confirmation of the same by an Arrusdaast and will send Boremull to treat with you further hereabouts upon its arrivall here.

Sirs, we are of opinion if a little more time was allowed for accommodating matters, it would be much for the Right Honorable Companys interest. The reason we Could not procure an answer to Captain Wm. Heaths Arrusdaast Sooner is the great affliction the Nabob labours under for the death of his wife and several others of his family, which hath made him incapable for these severall dayes of any bussiness. The whole City cries out and would be glad there could be an exchange their oppressions being so great and not to be paralleled. We have great reason to believe that we shall in a short time be brought into great trouble, having already spies upon us and our actions. We are

Right Worshipfull, &ca, Sirs
Your obedient Servents,
Ch. Eyre
Rog. Braddyll.

* * * * *

Dacca, the 20th November, 1688.

To the Right Worshipfull Job Charnock, Agent and Governor for Affaires of the Right Honorable Company in Bengall, &ca, Councill.

Sirs,

Our last was the 12th Currentt, with the Nabob's answer to Captain Wm. Heaths Arrusdaast ; but the peons Contrary to the writting they gave to arrive with it in 4 dayes returned hither again yesterday complaining they were intercepted in the way by Mellicks people, and tneir letters taken from them which seemed to us a very unlikely story ; because of so short a return ; wherefore, we committed them to the Catwaals custody (who is, at present, a watch over us with 300 gun men) who manadged them with so severe a hand, that they soon confessed their Villany, and that they had not been above 2 or 3 dayes travail out of the City, and returned for fear of Mellick, delivering us our papers again ; with which the Nabob was made acquainted, who has taken care to send them by the Dauk, which you may expect to arrive in Ballasore in 4 dayes.

Yours of the 3d, 6th, 7th and 10th currentt, we received 14th, 15th, 17th and 19th ditto. The former seems sharply to reprove us for neglect the publick good and our own Security which charge we can by no means allow of, but rather that your Worship, &ca, hath been most notoriously misinformed, by some that are no well wishers, either to the Right Honorable Company or us.

Tis most certain (and we are sure no person can avouch the Contrary) that we have used our most utmost endeavours to Comply with your orders, and to bring the Right Honorable Companys affaires to a speedy issue. But, if your orders and instructions, given us in that case, with our own care used, will have no Influence on the Government for a speedy accommodation of matters, the fault lies not on us ; we cannot help the want of successe in that point : we must needs tell you, (notwithstanding you have been informed to the Contrary,) that we have not been wanting in our importuning both the King's Duan and Boremull to procure the Nabob's Grant of your requests, as to a Fort, &c, neither have they been wanting in supplicating the Nabob therein, nor we in speaking our selves ; Captain Heaths arrusdaast delivered with our own writing, under our seales, being sufficient proofes wherefore, we can but admire that your Worship &c, should accuse us of those things which we have endeavoured to Compose rather than neglect, without any further prooffe than only bare information. But, it availeth not ; for he will not give any further answer, than that to Captain Heaths arrusdaast ; until your further confirmation of what wee have given in, under our hands and seales as appears by the enclosed copy in ours of the 12th currentt which comes herewith. We have not only solicited the Nabob for our coming down ; but also several other men of note especially Mellick Borcourdar before he went hence to intercede for us to the Nabob ; and his answer to them as well as to us, was this; that if your Worship &c, was designed upon the fighting account he would take care to send us to the place from whence we came ; but, if you were upon a peaceable account, he would dismiss us with surpaws for your Worships and our selves. We pray God he may be as good as his word which we much fear, by what he has already put in execution, having secured our persons, insomuch that we are not suffered to stir out of the rooms we lie in, which is the delawn, the biggest in the house. We are not permitted to lye in our lodging chambers, for fear we should make our escapes, by undermining ; somebody having told the Nabob, that the English that were here, in Shasteh Caun's time, made their escapes that way. The Nabobs catwall and about 300 gun men lye in and aboute our house ; who seem mightily civill to us and hath given us the liberty of 4 or 5 servants and to eat and Drink but not to stir out upon no account. We have great reason to believe that the Right Honorable Company's silver and Gungaraam, our Vacqueel, together, hath been the Main Reason of our Close Confinement . the Nabob, we presume, having an Eye upon the former in case you make any disturbance ; the latter hath kept himself out of the nett by bringing of us in : a villain that has all along been treacherous both to the Dutch and we beleive, to us ; and we have great reason to believe, is the Person that hath misrepresented things to your Worships, &c, which causes you thus to accuse us wherein we have been the most zealous.

The letter from Boremull to your worships which you are pleased to take notice of, we presume went enclosed in our Generall [letter] so that it matters not much whether or not there was any notice taken thereof, so long as you

received it ; but, if he sent it without our knowledge, you cannot blame us. We call not else to mind, but subscribe.

Rightt Worshipful, &c., Sirs,
Your very humble obedient servants
Ch. Eyre

Rcg. Braddyll.

P.S.—We humbly conceive it highly for the right Honble Company's interest, that your Worships Attend the Issue of this treaty which question not, but will conclude to your great Satisfactions, and put amends to the many misfortunes their affaires have for long time laboured under ; and what the Consequence of a second breach may be, your Worships, &c. experience cannot but highly inform you; and that forceably keeping a Garrison here will exhaust more men and money from the English nation than ever did Tangeer ; and that was such a thing feasible, which Cannot reasonably be supposed there will be totall irruption and ceassation of trade in this Empire.

Idem

C. E.

R. B.

* * * * *

*Translate of an obligation given to the Nabob Behauder Caun by
Mr. Eyre and Mr. Braddyll, Received from Dacca the
4th December, 1688.*

Copy of an agreement with the Nabob written by his Comand and in his presence as followeth Vizt.

Wee Charles Eyre and Roger Braddyll Factors to the Rt. Honble. English East India Compa. do agree and promise on this Condition that those our twelve Articles formerly agreed on Signed and Seal'd by Mellick Burquordar be confirmed, that a place or Town by Salt water for the building a strong or fortified Factory be Freely given and there to Negotiate Free of all duties, and Generall Discharge for what past damadges done to people in the past disturbances be given with the aforesaid under the Nabobs hands and seal whereon we have passed this our obligation that on to [sic ? 10] warlike shippes wee will receive 100 horsemen and 2000 Footmen belonging to the Nabob with 2 mos. provissions and waft them over to Arrackan and there land them at the Cittadell and with their assistance take it and possesse them thereof ; and for the Freight or expence of the shipping we will have so much as one Rupee; wherefore have given these few lines in writing as an obligation to be shewn on occasion.

Dated the 21 day of the Mo : Mohurum in the 32d year of the Darie.

* * * * *

*Translate of a Perwanna from the Nabob Behawder Caun to
Capt. Wm. Heath*

Received from Dacca the 4th December 1688.

Your arrusdaast is arrived and hath been perused as also Bohurnmull hath supplicated me about what was wrote to him ; doubt not but rest satis-

fied with all contentednesse of mind For your Factors here have given a writing to supply me with Ships for the Transportation of 1000 horsemen and 2000 Footmen with 2 month[s] Provisions Freight Free to Arrackan and suddenly I shall send down Bohurnmull to trade with you further.

Dated the 21th day of the Mo : Mohurum in the 32d : of the kings Reign.

*Translate of a Letter to the Rt. Worpll. the Agent from Meer
Mahmud Ummee the Fousdar of Ballasore
Received the 4th December 1688.*

Not above two Gurrees of offer [sic, after] the men which you sent to the Fortification Landed here arrived two Perwannas from the Nabob Behawdar Caun in my name and one perwanna in your name ; the latter I herewith send you and am advised that your Factors the English at Dacca have sent Coppys of the former for your perusal, all which I desire you'd be pleased Seriously to Consider and send a Credible understanding person hither with whom I may discourse and treat about the accomodation of your matters. I wait your answer here to which the sooner you afford will be the better, and further give your people a Charge to be intent and Seriously earnest about your businesse.

*Translate of a letter to the Rt. Worpll. the Agent from Bohurnmull,
received from Dacca the 4th December 1688.*

The letter which you were pleased to write arrived and the Contents understood, as also did arrive the arrusdasst which was presented to the Nabob Veir [sic] and moreover what you write to me made known to the Nabob, since which Mr. Eyre and Mr. Braddyll have given a writing to transport 1000 horsemen and 2000 Footmen to Arrackan Freight Free, which so exceedingly pleased the Nabob that he highly commended the Agent and forthwith Ordered a perwanna to be write in answer to the Arrusdaast, which accordingly was done and goes herewith, which pray let be answered with all Speed.

* * * * *

5th.—This day Capt. Heath and Capt. Haddock came down into the great Cabin where were present the Rt. Worpll. the Agent, Mr. Francis Ellis and Mr. Jeremiah Peachie, who had Dacca Generalls, with the Nabobs Perwanna &c. [and other] persia letters received yesterday, all brought and read before them ; and after thorough debate thereof, was agreed that a Couple of Persons should bee sent a shoare, and Capt. Heath and Capt. Haddock both desired the Agent would write a letter in answer to the fousdar of Ballasore Letters, and more Perticularly an Arasdaast in answer to the Nabobs Perwanna and Confirm'd what Capt. Heath wrote to Nabob and our people at Dacca had passed their Obligation for to the Nabob ; accordingly the letter to the fousdar was wrote and shewed to Capt. Heath, who approved thereof [and] desired it might bee sealed and delivered him to forward, which was done, tho wee heard [he] did brake open the same, had wrote over a fresh, signed it himself [and] intercepting the former, forwarded this latter.

Mr. James Wheeler requesting us to spare him fiftie ps. of Gunny for his occations, twas granted and an order to Capt. Stephen Ashby Commander of the *Williamson* signed and sent for the delivery thereof.

6th.—Wrote a Generall to fort St. George Per the ship *Resistance* belonging to Mr. John Coventry. Mr. Richard Trenchfeild requesting an order to Capt. Wm. Sharp Commander for the delivery of such bailes as he should think Convenient to take out of said ship and put aboard the *Williamson* of those he formerly laded belonging to the Honble. the President of Madrass the Same was accordingly given him.

7th. Came aboard a Portuguese with a letter from the Phousdar of Ballasore to Capt. Heath, who received it by said Portuguese [and] returned answer ; the contents of both are unknown to us.

This Evening Arived the ship *Nelligree*, Mr. Samuell Shernoll [?Sherman] Supra Cargoe (9).

8th.—This day there being occation for money to bee delivered to the Charges Generall Keeper to pay of[f] the Soldiers, Capt. Heath without as much as giving Notice to us, took one of the Rt. Honble. Compas. chests of Treasure on board his ship and gave it to Mr. Bowridge to pay the Soldiers wages, of which Error wee cant but take notice that without our knowledge he should divert to use what was consigned to us on his Ship by the Honble. the President &ca. Councill of Madrass.

Received a protest from Mr. Richard Trenchfeild and Mr. John Haynes.

9th.—Came a Portuguese with a letter from the Phousdar of Ballasore to Capt. Heath signifying that he receivd his letter, would have sent two Pallenkens for the 2 English men he intended to send but could not procure Guallies, (9A) however desired they might come by the Portuguese boats, withall desiring they might be discreet persons that were sent, which Confirm'd the Story told us of Capt. Heaths breaking and intercepting the Rt. Worshipfull the Agents Letter to the Said Fousdar of Ballasore. Capt. Heath sent ashore to the fousdar Mr. George Croke and Mr. John Gorbould Master of the Ketch *Samuell*.

10th.—Delivered Mr. Trenchfeild an answer to his protest.

Monday 11th.—Att a consultation present the Rt. Worspll. Job Charnock Esqr : Agent, Mr. Francis Ellis, Mr. Jeremiah Peachie.

In regard wee have no further hopes of imploying the Rt. Honble. Compas. Treasure here, after serious consideration and mature deliberation, twas

(9) Cf. Dampier's *Voyages* (4 vols. 8vo. London, 1729; Vol. II p. 145): "One of the English ships was called the *Nellegree*, the name taken from the *Nellegree Hills* in Bengal as I have heard: "and also Hedges' *Diary*, March 2, 1683: "In ye morning early I went up the *Nilligree Hill*, where I had a view of a most pleasant fruitful valley": See entry of November 15. The name *Nilgiri* is in common use in southern India and is here applied to the *Orissa hills*. There is a *Nilgiri state* among the *Orissa feudatory states*. The capital which bears the same name, is picturesquely situated at the foot of a hill five miles from the trunk road from *Calcutta* to *Madras*.

(9A) *Guallies*: *goalas*, *bearers*.

thought Convenient and accordingly agreed to send all the Ingotts to the Coast, where probably they might bee invested and only reserve the Dollers for any expence or occation wee might have, and acquainted Capt. Heath herewith by the Secretary, but Capt. Heath being averse thereto refused to lett it bee done.

Mr. Croke and Mr. Gorbould returned bringing with them a Mogull and a Persia writer who the fousdar had sent of[f] in order to our writing an answer to those Letters lately received from Dacca.

12th.—At the desire of Capt. Heath and on his promise to detain the *Recovery* now going to Arackan till [we] see what our proceedings took with the Governour here the Rt. Worspli. the Agent did write an Arasdaast to the Nabob as agreed the 5th Currant.

Allso wrote a Generall to Mr. Eyre and Mr. Braddyll inclosing copy of the aforesaid Arasdaast and giving them such advices concerning the late Action at Ballasore as they might better excuse the same.

Wrote a Generall to the Rt. Honble. President and Councill at Madrass.

13th. Delivered the Arasdaast and a Coppy thereof with the Generall for Dacca to Mr. James Ravenhill who accompanied by the Mogull Mamood Hussein and the Persia writer went ashore with order to deliver the fousdar the Coppy and in case he released the men ashore then to deliver the Originall, otherwise to bring it back againe, but indeavour to get forwarded the Generall for Dacca.

The Ships *Williamson* and *Loretto* sailed for Madrass ; on the former went Mr. Joseph Safford, Mr. Thomas Mackrith and Mr. Samuel Meverell, the 2 former on their request, the latter to repack said ships cargo and make invoice thereof at Madrass, having not been capable of compleating the same in Bengall by reason of our sudden Removall and the late coming downe goods from Hugly ; allso on the *Williamson* went 37 frenchmen Passengers.

14th.—This morning contrary to promise made [to] the Rt. Worshipfull the Agent &ca. Capt. Heath dispatcht the ship *Recovery* and Ketch *Samuell* for the Arackan Coast, who if [they] make a breach there by seizing the Moors boats now Coming there, all our indeavours by writing to the Nabob &ca. will prove ineffectuall to a peace ; but Capt. Heath sayeth he hath given Capt. Hampton order not to medle with any of the Moors boats.

15th.—Capt. Heath went ashore to the point of Sand ; the ship *Resolutions* boate coming of[f] shoare brought news that 2 of our men in the Moors Custody, by name Mr. Harbin and Mr. Cornell. were dead, and all the rest in Irons. Capt. Heath came of[f] shoare.

16th.—Received a letter from Chuckenpaun a Jimmedar and Gomastah to the great Rojah inviting us to use means to recover our men now in the Custody of the Moors in the which he would bee very ready to assist us, adding it would not bee prudence to leave them behind us.

18th.—Mr. James Ravenhill accompanied by the Persia writer [arrived] bringing a letter from the fousdar of Ballasore wherein was inclosed a Perwanna from the Nabob Behauder Caune, and acquainted us the fousdar promised to

send for the English from Rumnah (10) to ballasore where they should have all freedome and that the fousdar had forwarded the Coppy of the Arasdaast with the Dacca Generall, and desired the originall.

Mr. Ravenhill and the Occoon were sent ashoare with the Originall Arasdaast to bee delivered to the fousdar with the Rt. Wospll the Agents answer.

19th.—Capt. Heath went ashoare to the point of sand.

21st.—This day came of[f] Capt. Heath with all the forces having demolished the fortifications lately taken and shipped of[f] the Ordinance found there.

Mr. Ravenhill not being come off wee Inquired after him and were acquainted that on his arrivall with the fousdar, he not finding the English brought according to promise, he was the more desirous to see them that he might return to us with some satisfactory account how they were treated, from whence he may suddenly returne and probably may not obtaine a Conveyance to us by reason there is not any boat left to await his coming.

Allso wee were informed that while Capt. Heath was a shoare a protest from the Dutch at Hugly was brought and delivered him by a Dutchman who had another come with him [as] a wittness : on receipt whereof Capt. Heath sent him that delivered it aboard as prisoner saying he would carry him to Madrass, there to prove his protest but soone after by the interception of Capt. Haddock and some others, Capt. Heath sent for him ashoare and caused him to write on the backside of the Protest that twas all falce, had both the Dutchmen subscribe to it and so dismissed them.

22nd.—At the request of those concerned in the *Nelligree*, Capt. Heath cleared Mr. John Gorbould Master of the Ketch *Thomas* from the Rt. Honble. Compas. service to goe master of said ship now intended for Atcheen. Capt. Heath gave sailing orders to the Fleet.

23rd.—This morning the fleet parted from Ballasore roade the wind blowing fresh of[f] shoare so Mr. Ravenhill was left behind.

IN A VOYADGE TO CHITTAGAUM DECEMBER 1688

24th.—The ship *Nelligree* Mr. Samuall Sherran [?Sherman] Super Cargoe left the fleet and proceeded on her Voyage to Acheen.

26th.—Mr. Richard Trenchfeild and the rest of the Rt. Honble. Compas. servants on board the ship *Resolution* requesting some of the Rt. Honble. Compas. wine for their Table, an order on Capt. Sharp was given for a Chest of Canary, halfe for them and halfe for the Rt. Honble. Compas. Servants on board the *Princess of Denmark* Capt. Joseph Haddock Commander.

(10) Dacca : where the present civil station is so-called. The Rumnah was the Nawab's park."

Ship *Resolution* December 26th 1688.

Rt. Worspall. Sir,

Understanding that the Rt. Honble. Compa. have a quantity of wine we desire you would be pleased to order us a portion thereof who are

Rt. Worspall. Sir

Your most humble servants

Rich : Trenchfeild

Walter Littleton

Jno : Beard

Sam : Hart

Jno : Focquett

Wm. Bowridg[c]

Monday January 7th [1688-89]—Att a consultation present the Rt. Worspall. Job Charnock Esqre. Agent, Mr. Francis Ell's Mr. Richard Trenchfeild Mr. Jeremiah Peachie.

Mr. Trenchfeild having formerly delivered in an account of sundries spared the Rt. Honble. Compa. together with some necessary charges he had been at and now againe desiring the same might be viewed which accordingly was perused and passed the ballance being 962 Rups. 11a : 6p.

This morning about 9 of the Clock spied land and in the evening came to an anchor in 10 fathom water about 3 leauges of shoare which is very high land and taken for the mountains adjoyning to Arackan, to which wee are nearer than to Chittegaum.

8th.—This morning by order of Capt. Heath was hoisted the Union flagg on the *Defence*.

Sent boats ashore to discover the place. This evening came off [f] a boat advising that they did not see any people but had found out a brook of fresh water about 3 foot deep and brought a bottle full for a test ; they did see severall wild beasts as hoggs, bear and Buffloes.

9th.—Came off [f] a boat advising as the former and that there run a great surfe at the landing place.

The Ketch *Thomas* arrived with us.

10th.—Come [off] a boat advising that here was allso great plentie of wild foules and that some of their people going about five miles into the woods did discover the footing of Elephants Tygers and men and did see a small Cottadge but noe men.

11th.—This morning about 8 of the clock sett saile still keeping the land on the starboard side of ship and after sailing about 3 leauges did come to an Anchor by reason of some boats which were ashoare and the *Beaufort* sloop being apparently in danger nigh the Surfe.

12th.—This morning the small vessells sett saile and gott about 8 or 9 leauges ahead when they came to an Anchor, all which time the great ships did not stir by reason of the sloop and people ashoare to whome two boats were sent to inquire the cause of their stay it having been a great hindrance to us for in this time wee might in all probabillity have arrived near Chittegaum having had a fair wind ever since yesterday morning which with the help of the spring tyde would undoubtedly have carryed us thither.

13th.—This morning the sloop coming off wee sett saile and att noone the Tyde setting into the shoare wee anchored having sailed but 3 leauges.

This day the Ketch *Thomas* took up an Ensigne staff burnt at one end.

14th.—This morning sett saile standing towards sea by reason of the shallows supposed to bee nigh the shoare and at about 3 of Clock came to an Anchor.

15th.—This morning sett saile againe and stood along shoare ; at 4 of the Clock came to an Anchor.

16th.—This morning sett saile and about 2 of the clock anchored.

17th.—This morning being arrived neare Chittagaum twas agreed on to send the small vessells nearer the shoare and to send and [sic ? an] english man or two ashoare to make knowne the end of our coming and to inquire whether any letters or people were arrived from Dacca, in order to which Capt. Heath sent Capt. Sharp to the Rt. Worspll. the Agent to know who should bee sent ; divers were recommended for speaking the language of whome Capt. Heath appointed Samuell Pine and Walter Littleton and accordingly gave Instructions and dispeeded them on board the *Diamond*.

This evening the ship *Diamond* with some other small vessells arriving before Chittagaume River they saluted the fort and seemingly were saluted againe from the fort.

18th.—This morning went ashoare Samuell Pine and Walter Littleton in the *Resolutions* Barge. Late at night returned Samuell Pine and Walter Littleton and informed us that going in at the mouth of the river, the boat being called, they went ashoare and by the Tannadar or Keeper of the fort there were askt the cause with a message from our cheif Commander to theirs with whome they desired to speake advise thereof was sent him and by Cosates (11) or pleasure boats they were conducted up about 12 miles up the river to the maine fort at Chittagaume towne, so that had a thorough view of what was to the river wards ; a relation hereof is as hereafter.

Being thus arrived with Vento Ferera, a Portuguese Captain who mett them on the way thither, they went to the Governor, by name Meer Froak and acquainted him they were come from our cheif Commander to lett him understand that Conformable to Agreement with the Nabob wee were come here to serve him in Transporting 1000 horse and 2000 foot to Arackan &ca., which he seemed to elight and said that he knew not anything of it and supposed the Nabob did not order us to come hether and demanded why the Rt. Worspll. the Agent or Admirall did not come to visit him, to which was ansered that as yett they were behind in the great ships. They desired that our boats might bee permitted to have the libertie of the Port which he refused to permitt till such time as he was visited by some one of our Commanders and desired to see the Nabobs Perwanna's &ca. papers which they had aleadged wee had to shew. And further they Informe us that as they went up the river they did see few Jelliars or warr boats but did see a

(11) Bengali *kova*, a rowing boat.

great many Cosats or pleasure boats and about 8 or 10 ships belonging to the Moors and one french Ketch, and that at the entrance of the river there was a large fortification where might bee then present about 300 men and that halfe a reach on the right hand in a bay was a neat Compact fort where was the Portuguese soldiers main guard, and further up in divers places on the left hand there were fortifications and brest works and that the main fort at Chittegaume stood upon a mount on the left hand of the river, had a moate round it and the brest works and rampers were all of mudd, broaken downe in many places, for many of the forts being very large at least three miles in Length.

19th.—Yesterdays messadge being considered of Captain Heath desired Mr. Ellis to goe ashoare which he condescended to and preperation made.

20th.—This morning early went ashoare Mr. Francis Ellis Attended by Capt. Francis Seaton and Samuell Pine.

21st.—This morning early came of[f] Mr. Ellis, Capt. Seaton and Samuell Pine acquainting us that going directly to Chittegaum they were in the way mett by Vento Ferera, a Portuguese Captain who informed them that the Governor was gone downe to view the fortifications there, wherefore they desired news might bee sent him of the 2d of Bengall coming to visit him, which was accordingly done and proceeded toward Chittegaume and soone after their arrivall there the Governor returned and desired their Company who going to him were unbecomingly seated, and being by the Governor demanded what they had to say did reply that since it was his desire to see some principall man of ours the 2d himselfe was pleased to come and desired to know his pleasure, whereon he required the Cause of our coming hither with this fleet which was answered that it was to serve the nabob, as told him the other day, and that he might be better satisfied thereof, did shew him the Obligation the Nabob caused our factors in Dacca to give, with the Nabobs Perwannas and the Rt. Worspll. the Agents thereto, all which he read [and] desired coppie thereof and said that the Nabob did not order us to come hither, and that he could take Arackan without us, and that as friends wee did well in coming, but had wee come on any other designe, tho with a much larger fleet consisting of 100 ships, they could easily suppress and destroy us all, and used many more harsh expressions, which were as well answered and he given to understand that tho he made so slight of us, the Nabob did not, and wee were well knowne to the world that wee could effect or accomplish what they could not reasonable have a thought off, and desired to know whether he had wrote to the Nabob of our coming and when he might have an answer; he said he had wrote [and] expected an answer suddenly and desired them to write an Arasdaast and deliver it to him and he would forward it to the Nabob and procure his answer in 6 days time, which was agreed to: further, the Governor slighting all former Treaties and the Persons they were with, as Mullickburcurdar and Boremull, and desired us now to begin a fresh with him and lett him know our Articles &c., promising to effect much with the Nabob in a short time, which was answered what was requisite in that

case was allready done and now wee only awaited the Nabobs answer ; to which he said, 'tis well ; I awaite the same and shall act accordingly,' told Mr. Ellis &ca. that as they were his Guests to day, if they pleased he would provide for them, which was executed, dinner being allready prepared for them at the Portuguese Capt. House ; they desired that our people might have the libertie of the Port, which he promised wee should if Mr. Ellis would bee pleased to stay with him, where he might have accomodation [*sic*] for himselfe and retinue, adding that our people might freely pass and repass, if were 4 ships a day, and offered Mr. Ellis a Seerpaw and press[ed] the same three times which Mr. Ellis did likewise excuse, and soe took his leave and came to the Portuguese Capts. house, there designing to stay some time, but that at dinner the said Capt. told him that the Governor gave him a Perticular charge to treat him with what he had provided and forthwith dispedd him aboard, which occasioned Mr. Ellis &ca. to come away that day, which otherwise was not intended.

Mcnday 21st.—Att a consultation present the Rt. Worspll. Job Charnock, Esqr. Agent Mr. Francis [Ellis] Mr. Jeremiah Peachie.

Mr. John Haynes tendring a bill baring date the 17 of November 1693 under Mr. Henry Stanleys hand for 500 rups: borrowed of him for account of the Right Honble. Company the same is accepted.

This morning Capt. Heath having sent for all the Commanders on board the Defence did also call the Rt. Worspll. the Agent &ca. Councill and held the following Consultation *Viztt* :

Att a Consultation Present

The Rt. Worspll. Job Charnock Esqre : Agent

Capt. William Heath Admirall

Mr. Francis Ellis

Capt. Joseph Haddock

Mr. Richd. Trenchfeild

Capt. William Sharp

Mr. Jeremiah Peachie

Capt. George Herron

Capt. Francis Seaton

Capt. Thomas Walthrop

Being thus mett it was debated whether or not it would bee convenient and consistant with the Rt. Honble. Company Interest to attack Chittezaume, ashoare, being Mr. Ellis, Capt. Seaton and Samuell Pine were asked what probabilitie there is of Success therein, and in regard wee have but little knowledge of the place otherwise than by report, the persons that were ashoare, being Mr. Ellis, Capt. Seaton and Samuell Pine were asked what Success might bee expected in such an attempt, to which Capt. Seaton made answer that he beleived with the small forces wee have, consisting of one hundred and fifteen Europeans and one hundred sixty nine Portuguese soldiers, being all that at present are in Condition for service and also with the assistance of the ships, vessells and seamen, in all probabilitie the place might bee taken, tho great and populous; soe that after most serious consideration and mature deliberation, wee having but a small number of men, having at present not any hopes of aid and assistance from Arackan at least as much as for provission, it is our reall opinion that twill bee impossible to maintaine the

place when taken till such times as wee can have Recruits from Madrass, being the towne is of little strength and the people very numerous on shoare who can continually gaule our people our number being small.

This consultation being ended it was urged that it was for divers reasons highly requisite to write to the Nabob and advise him of our arrival here with this fleet purely to serve him and speedily to desire his finall answer thereabout, and particularly the Rt. Worspl. the Agent, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Peachie, Capt. Haddock and Capt. Herron said that since wee were come hither twas not only absolutely necessary to write such a letter but allso to stay for an answer, since the Governor ashoare promised to procure the same in 6 days time ; to which Capt. Heath did reply, it would signifie nothing, for he did not intend to stay for an answer and that it was never his intent to transport the Nabobs soldiers and horse to Arackan ; whereon twas said to him, 'why then did you by your letter to the Nabob promise it and cause the Rt. Worspl. the Agent by another letter to Confirme the same ; to which he replied, 'these were nothing but lies wrote on both sides;' however consented that a letter might bee now wrote to give notice of our Arrivall.

This evening Capt. Heath ordered the Ships *Success*, *Madapollam* and *Mergin* [Energie] the Ketch *Thomas* and sloop *Beaufert*, with the longboats, to goe and sound about the Island of Scundeepe *alias* [sic] Sundeve (12).

27nd—Wrote a letter to the Nabob, a letter to the Kings Duan, a letter to Boremull, a Generall to Mr. Eyre and Mr. Braddyll at Dacca and a letter to Vento Ferera the Portuguese Captain here ashoare.

23rd.—Tendred the aforesaid Letters to Capt. Heath but could not obtaine any Conveyance for them to the shoare.

The Ships returned from Sundeve having not gone quite nor nigh round the same and report that on the west side they found not less than 3 fathome water.

24th.—This morning in the *Defences* boate Samuel Pine with one of the *Defences* mates of said ship were sent ashoare to deliver the aforementioned letters to any that should come to the water side, themselves not to goe out of the boat but to declare that wee came as friends and purely to serve the King and Nabob, but since wee found our selves rather treated like enimies, being slighted by the Governor and denied the libertie of the Port, wee having acquitted our selves by complying on our owne part of the agreement with the Nabob, wee were now intended to bee gone suddenly, and in order thereto had loosed our Top sailes and might bee under way this evening or the next morning, and further to inquire whether as yett the Governor had received any answer to what he had wrote to the Nabob concerning us ; they towards the shoare were mett by a great number of people, from whom one, Meer Kiperam, seing them not minded to goe ashoare, came to the boat side and very civilly invited them to come ashoare to Bahauder beauge, the Kings

(12) The Island of Sandwip lies off the mainland of the modern district of Noakhali. Cf. Hedges' Diary (1688): "From Chittagaum we sailed away the 29th January, after had sent small vessels to search round the Island St. Deaves."

Buxie of that place there present in his tent, whom they excused, delivering the said letters, desiring they might bee delivered to the Governor, Meir Froak, to bee forwarded, and told their message. which the Mogull heard, went and acquainted the Buxie therewith and brought this answer, that those letters should bee forthwith dispeeded for Dacca and that as yet the Governor had not received any answer but in a day or two expected the same, till which desired us to stay, and wee should have water, provissions or what ever wee wanted, desiring a boat might bee sent this evening and it should bee supplied with all things and questioned not but that all things with an answer to these letters would arrive in four or five days ; in the meane time wee should not bee debarred any thing, to which was replied that if they would this day send off a boat aboard the Admirall, they should bee civillie treated and it might induce us to stay for the Mogulls answer. A boat being then coming out of the river, [?he said] on this boat will I goe to the Governor and deliver these letters to bee forwarded, bring downe the Portuguese Captain and with him come aboard ship if possible this Evening; see they parted. Considering the aforesaid news which Samuell Pine brought off, Capt. Wm. Heath was importuned to send his owne boate or cause some other ships boat to goe ashoare and trye the realitty thereof, but he utterly refused doing the same, saying that if they were reall they would come aboard this evening; otherwise he would be gone with the Fleet towards Arackan but was answered that it could not be expected that they should come off till tomorrow morning, being they were to goe up to towne to the Governor and spend time there, see that going and returning was at least 24 miles; whereon after a pauze he said he would stay till tomorrow noone; see twas desired that he would send his boat, and Samuell Pine should goe ashoare early on the morrow to see what provisions could be had there, not being any on board, which he refused to doe, see Samuell Pine was at night sent on board the *Princess of Denmark*, Capt. Joseph Haddock Commander, to request his boat, which he readily lent.

25th.—This morning Samuell Pine went ashoare in Capt. Haddocks pinnace. This noone came off Samuell Pine with a horseman acquainting us that he was invited to Bahauder beege the Kings Buxies Tent, where he was kindly received and civillie treated by the Buxie, to whome he remembered the Rt. Worspll. the Agent, declared the cause of our coming, shewing the Nabobs Perwannas, &c. Persia Papers, affirming that our coming hether was purely to serve the King and Nabob as we allready had acquainted the Governor here when[we] visited him, and that the indifferent reception he gave us, together with his absurdity in denying us the port, esteeming us as enemies rather than Friends, spurred us to bee gone hence, in order to which we had yesterday loosed our topsails and this day should bee under way, if a greater measure of civillitie than hitherto wee had found did not interpose, the which might bee some inducement for us to stay longer. To all which Bahauder Beege the Buxie made answer, saying, that you have done well in coming hither and by these Persia papers I am very well satisfied of your intent therein, and conformable to these Perwannas Boremull will certainly be

sent hither, and lett not the indifferency or absurditie of the Governor discourage you, for he is a rash young man and hath not been well advised. Now you shall have anything youll give me to understand you want. Whereupon Samuell Pine returning thanks gave him a large memorandum of diverse things, which the Buxie forthwith gave order for, and wrote to severall people to bee aiding and assisting in the procuring of the same, and dispatcht a horseman to discourse the Governor concerning the reasonableness of supplying us with all things necessary, what the markt there contained was instantly bought and put on board the boat; and further the Buxie continued saying that you will do very unwisely to goe hence before the Nabobs answer doth arrive, tomorrow or next day it may bee expected to the Governor's advices, and in five or six days to your letters; and now here is a new Governor named Mamood Syed Caune coming with 500 horse who will tomorrow or next day enter the Towne. Tis convenient he bee visited and discoursed about your business, and likewise here is news that the Nabobs Son hath his tent pitcht without the city of Dacca in order to his journey hither; doe suppose Boremull may come with him. To which Samuell Pine replied that he would acquaint the Rt. Worspll. the Agent herewith, who he supposed, since twas so resolved notwithstanding would be gone, except the speedy Performance of these his fair promises intervening did prevent, whereat the Buxie again urged our stay and caused the Portuguese Capt. then present to doe the like and appointed 3 horsemen to come on board to discourse the Rt. Worspll. the Agent thereabout. So Samuell Pine took his leave of the Buxie who very kindly desired to bee remembered to the Rt. Worspll. the Agent, as allso did the Portuguese Capt. who delivered a letter for him and sent the German to discourse him, and at coming away only one Horseman was ready, who with the German accompanied Samuell Pine aboard.

The Horseman from the Buxie and the German from the Portuguese Captain were received with all civillitie, both by the Rt. Worspll. the Agent and Capt. Heath to whom the Horseman applying himselfe used all Perswasions and arguments to stay us, repeating all that [was] told Samuell Pine ashore; moreover the German told us that a Portuguese soldier was arrived three days since from Dacca bringing news that the Nabobs son had left that place and was on the way hither with Boremull; and allso the said Portuguese spoke much in praise of the Island Sundeva, being a wholesome air, fruitfull soile, good water and plentie of all sorts of provissions, and that towards the North part there were divers little Islands which made a fine spacious road or Bay for ships, there not being less then 8 or 9 fathome water and that the said Sundeva was the Maintenanse of Chittegaume and an inlett to all Bengall, that all Boats from Dacca &c., must pass the same, the which he heartily wisht was ours and said if wee pleased might soon be masters of it and that the same would bee matter of great Joy to all the Portuguese &c., Christians who then would soon throw off the Mahomotans yoke and come in to us and live under our Government in peace and Tranquillitie. This message the Portuguese Captain sent not caring to commit the same by paper, least it

might unhappily be seen to his prejudice. By that time this and such like discourse was ended it was even, so dismissed the Horseman and the German, desiring them to remember the Rt. Worspl. the Agent and Capt. Heath to the Buxie and the Portuguese Captain. Seriously weighing the Occurrences of this day it was thought convenient to send Samuell Pine ashore againe tomorrow morning, as well as to preserve a correspondence with the Governor as to see and gett of[f] the provisions the Buxie had ordered to be got ready, and in order thereto sent him to Capt. Heath to desire his boat [and] ask what was his resolution concerning longer staying here, to whome [the] Captain refused to lend his boat any further than aboard any other ship to gett aboard to goe ashore, saying he might goe ashore if he would, but he would stay for him no longer than noon, which answer checkt the aforesaid motion.

26th.—Early this morning sent Samuell Pine to tell Capt. Heath that if he would be pleased to stay this day also that twas thought convenient to send ashore againe, but otherwise not, to whom Capt. Heath replied, that then you must stay, for I must and will be gone today, which answer was the reason Samuell Pine was not sent ashore this day.

This morning 8 or 9 boats with one sloop went ashore.

Saturday 26th.—At a consultation: present the Rt. Worspl. Job Charnock, Esqr., Agent Mr. Francis Ellis Mr. Jeremiah Peachie.

Notwithstanding the sole power of ordering and directing in the Rt. Honble. Compas. affairs is at present taken out of our hands and committed to the care of Capt. Heath, yett we cant but seriously weigh and consider the ill Success their affairs have mett with since wee left Chuttanuttee &ca.

First, in not staying a day or two longer to speak with Mullickburcudar who had then been arrived some time from Hugly with Commission from the Nabob to trade with us and was then on the way from Hugly with divers Persons of Credit, intending a visit to us and to endeavour an accomodation, which happily, had wee stayed a little longer might have been struck up there.

Secondly at Ballasore, notwithstanding all the Perswasions of the Governor, his fair offer to lett goe all the Rt. Honble. Compas. goods with all the Persons of the English save two, desiring patience but for two days, in which time certainly the Nabobs Parwanna would arrive to our content &ca, and not regarding our advise to him by Capt. Haddock the 27 of November last past, Capt. Heath would not forbear proceeding in a hostile manner, and land forces, and in that too to committ yett a greater error in not marching with them directly to the Towne, by which means he might in all probabilitie have rescued all the Englishmen and saved the Rt. Honble. Compas. goods, which Contrarewise fell out by his remissness at the point of sand, the men being all taken, carried away prissoners and clapt in Irons, and part of the goods burnt. All was foreseen and might have [been] wisely prevented.

And thirdly and lastly, that after great difficultie having obtain'd the port of Chittegaume, he is minded on a suddaine to leave the same without

so much as staying for the Nabobs answer to the letter he desired the Rt. Worspll. the Agent to write, since his owne letters was unvalued by the Nabob from Ballasore Road, in confirmation both of the obligation given to the Nabob by Mr. Eyre and Mr. Braddyll and of Capt. Heath's owne letter to the Nabob to serve him in the transportation of a 1000 horse and 2000 foot to Arackan &ca, or not so much as to stay two days till an answer to the Governors advises concerning us might arrive, or at least to furnish the fleet with water and provisions soe much wanted for the preservation of their men, now most of them labouring under divers diseases. Notwithstanding all which, to bee resolutely bent to leave the place today is a thing very preposterous that Capt. Heath should here so slightly reject an offer and opportunitie for settling the Rt. [Honble] Compas. affairs according to their desire, it being very probable the same might take effect, the like heretofore never offered and probably never may hereafter. Besides if we suddenly leave the place, the ill consequences are many. It will give the Nabob just cause to accuse us of fallacie and deceit, wherewith our Nation hitherto hath never been tainted in these parts. Next, to free himself of blame and bee revenged of us he will bee induced to write largely to the Emperor against us, and at present our coming hither and going away without effecting anything hath both created a jealousy in them and sufficiently alarmed them to fortifie the place as much as possible, soe that hereafter if any assault bee attempted, they will bee found in a much better posture of defence &ca.

Much more might bee said and time will make a large addition to that, all which being with most nature deliberation seriously debated, with regard had to the Rt. Honble. Compas. Interest and the sinking posture of their affairs in Bengall at this Juncture, with the abovesaid happy opportunitie of resetting the same according to their desires, 'tis thought convenient for the acquitting ourselves to deliver Capt. William Heath our opinion as followeth this Consultation.

To Capt. William Heath Commander of Ship *Defence*.

Yesterday morning the 25th of January, 1688, Samuell Pine was sent ashore to try the realitie of what these people have all along promised. He was civilly treated by Bahauder beege, the Kings Buxie of the place and was desired to stay till the Nabobs answer to the Governor's advises concerning us, which was expected dayly : in the interim our ships might bee supplied with what ever they wanted, and in token thereof did furnish him with divers provisions which the market afforded and sent out round about for more, and at his coming away sent a horseman in Company with him aboard of ship with a Portuguese from the Portuguese Captain Pento ferera de lima to desire us to stay till the Nabobs answer to our letters did arrive, and in the mean time wee might have any thing brought of by their boats and our own that should goc ashore, using perswasive arguments to stay us till such time, telling us as they had told Samuell Pine ashore that Mamood Syed Caune is expected to arrive in towne with five hundred horse tomorrow or next day

at furthest, and to remain Governor here for a time, the present Governor Meer Froak being with said 500 horse to goe to Arackan, and that the Nabobs son was departed from Dacca having pitch't his tent without the City in order to his journey hither, and supposed Boremull might come with him. This the Buxie told Samucll Pine the Portuguese Captain wrote to the Rt. Worspll. Agent and the Horseman that came of [f] againe related to us. Moreover the Portuguese that came hither told us that a Portuguese soldier was arrived three days since from Dacca bringing news that the Nabobs son had left that place and was on the way hither with Boremull; and further the said Portuguese spake much in praise of the Island Sundeva, being wholesome air, fruitfull soil and good water, with plenty of provissions, and that towards the North part there were divers little Islands which made a fine spacious roade or bay for ships, their [sic] not being less then 8 or 9 fathome water and that the said Sundeva was the Maintanance of Chittegaume and an inlett to all Bengall, that all boats from Dacca to Chittegaume must pass the same, which he wisht heartily was ours and if wee pleased might soone bee masters of it, and thereat the Portuguese &ca. Christians would highly rejoyce and soone throw of [f] the Mahomitan yoake, and come into us and enjoy themselves in peace and quiet under our Government; this verball message the Portuguese Captain said not caring to committ the same to paper least unhappily it might bee seen to his prejudice.

Having considered the premises wee thought fit to give in this our opinion thereon *vizt.*

Firstly that wee stay 6 days for an answer from the Nabob to our letter sent him two days agoe as promised the Kings Buxie and considering there is a necessitie for the ships wattring and getting provision for the releif of the men before [we] doe proceed further, they being meny that are downe of the Scurvey and a great many like to perish without said.

Secondly that since Meer Froake the present Governor is out and Mamood Syed Coune expected this day as Harbinger to the Nabobs son who is on the way from Dacca hither with Boremull wee can't but expect that the Nabob hath sent him in order to an accomodation of the Rt. Honble. Compas. affairs according to his Perwanna received at Ballasore where it was agreed on by the Rt. Worspll. the Agent and Capt. Heath &ca. in Council there that the Agent write the Nabob an answer to Confirme what the Nabob had desired of the English in Dacca, and they had passed a writing for performance of the same, in order to which wee were then proceeding to Chittegaume thence to transport the 1000 horse and 2000 foot accordingly, which should wee refuse and goe away without knowing their answer it may disanull that agreement, which Capt. Heath requested the Agent to Confirme as aforesaid and now refusing will make us redicoulous and cause the Nabob to write against us to the King, the ill consequence whereof time will manifest: besides the like opportunitie for settling the Rt. Honble. Compas. Affairs according to their desire will never offer as now and doubtless will bee imbrac'd by the Dutch if offered to them.

Thirdly since wee have so fair an account of the Conveniencies of the Island Sundeve wee think it absolutely necessary that thorough surveigh bee made round to certifie the truth of the same.

Dated on board ship *Defence* in Chittegaume Road the 26th of January 1688 [1688/9]

This noone on a sudden came of[f] the severall boats that were sent ashore this morning, advising that some of them had gott what the markt had afforded, others had agreed for Cows and hoggs, &c. and Capt. Herrons mate was offered to be showne where his casks might bee filled with water, which being far of[f] he went not to it, but being askt the reason of their so suddain coming off did reply that they did see a great number of horse and foot said to bee the returne [?] of a new Governor who had lately entred the Towne and was instantly coming downe to the Buxies tent demanded the reason what they did there and expected one from us to come and visit him which in a manner surprized them and occasioned their sudden diparture.

Noe sooner were these boats come of[f] but that Capt. Heath without the least regard of our opinion delivered him but this morning, part whereof already proved to be true, did cause the fleet to weigh anchor and instantly wee were under saile and so parted from Chittegaume standing towards Arrackan.

The Wind failing and Tide setting, this evening wee came to an Anchor.

IN A VOYAGE TO ARRACKAN, JANUARY 1688 [1688-9].

27th.—This morning sett saile and at evening anchored.

28th.—This morning sett saile having a fresh gaile most part of the day and night.

29th.—Anchored this night supposing our selves to bee Arrackan.

30th.—Sett saile and about 9 of the clock spyed divers Islands on head and in the evening came to an Anchor when Capt. Herron in the *Diamond* fired a Gun spying a ship.

31st.—This morning sett sayle ; spyed a ship and Ketch a head under Sayle and supposing them to be the *Recovery* and the *Samuell* stood towards them and them towards us, soe sent a boat toward them, wherein came Mr. George Croke and Capt. Hampton who acquainted [us] that they had been here about 28 days, the former having visited the Rojah or King, by name Ordeah Tommah, son to Chanda Sudah Rajah, who desired our aid and assistance to supress the rebells now in arms and beat back his enimies the Moors already arrived and more expected from Chittegaume and gave him a letter for the Rt. Honble. Compa. and another for Capt. Heath, to whome they were both delivered.

At even anchored in Rackan road (13).

(13) "It is called by some Portuguese Orrakan, by others among them Arrakan, and by some again Rakan, after its capital, and also Mogg."—Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien* (Amsterdam, 1624-1626).

February 2nd.—This morning Capt. Heath sent ashore to the King these following Persons, Mr. John Haynes, Mr. George Croke, Capt. Francis Seaton, Mr. Wm. Bowridge.

This afternoon weighed anchor and haul'd nearer shore.

10th.—Arrived Mr. Haynes &ca. from the King bringing news that they had admittance on Thursday, being esteemed a good minute, and being seated in his presence they, Conformable to Capt. Heath's order, offered their service with the fleet and men to suppress the rebels, [and] beat back his enemies the Moors, in case he would assist us with men for the taking and inhabiting of Chittagaum; to whom the King replied, 'I have no need of your help or assistance in any case. As for the rebels, they are my vassals whom I can chastise at pleasure. How is it that you have not gone and taken Chittagaum according to my command. Go and do that and afterwards I'll supply you with men as occasion shall require.' Soe they were dismissed.

11th.—George Scott master of the ship *Madapollam* dyed and was buried.

13th.—This night was brought off [f] a seaman who ashore walking alone was sett on by the Muggs or Arrackanners, and sorely wounded in the head.

14th.—This day heard that Capt. Heath yesterday dispeeded Mr. George Croke to invite the Chief of the Rebels to come and enter into a league against the King of Arakan.

This night came off [f] a long boate from the watering place advising that severall of Capt. Haddock's Ship Company were on the said Island but not being present they came away without them. On report hereof Capt. Haddock forthwith sent a boat to fetch them off [f] shore.

15th.—This morning the fleet sett sail, only Capt. Haddock with the *Princess of Denmark* staying behind for his boat and men.

This noon came aboard Capt. Haddock with Mr. George Croke, who returning from the Rebels accidentally came in that happy juncture of time as Capt. Haddock's aforesaid men were coming off [f] the Island and soe came off [f] with them, otherwise might have been left behind as Mr. Ravenhill was at Ballasore.

Mr. Croke being come on board acquainted Capt. Heath and the rest of the Commanders how gratefully he was refused [*sic*] and what he had for an answer from the Revolted Rojah and afterwards coming into the great Cabin did give us the same relation in writing which is as follows *Vizt.*

Wednesday being the 13th of february arrived a Gelliar from the Rojah of the Rebels whom the Moors have sided with to take Arakan, to know on what account our fleet came and also brought up some provisions. Capt. [Heath] being on board the *Recovery* sent for them on board where 2 of the Considerablest men that came in the boat came on board, where after some discourse Capt. Heath told them that if the Rojah would come to Budder Muccom or on board of ship and trade with him about such Articles as he should propose, and in case the Articles proposed should be agreed on both sides he would bee their freinds and assist them in the taking the Kingdom of Arakan but he would have him to bee downe the next day. To [this]

the people made answer that it would at least take 2 days for his coming, but if he would send an Englishman to advise him of his pleasure, he would certainly make the more hast downe, whereupon Capt. Hampton proffered his service, but he not accepting of it, as I supposing [*sic*] thinking him not fitt, said it would bee better for mee to goe, whereupon he gave these instructions which are in a paper apart by it selfe.

Having arrived there the Rojah told him that the Nabob had writ him in the month of January that he might Suddenly expect ten saile of English Ships to arrive at Arackan for his Assistance ; whereupon he asked if wee were come to assist him or the King of Arackan. I made answer that wee stood as neuter. After many questions insignificant to express he told me that if wee would assist him in taking Arackan he would ingage to procure us the Nabobs Perwanna to our hearts content and in the meane time he would not medle nor make with the Arackanners till that the Nabobs Perwanna was arrived which would be in 20 days time at furthest and that all the while wee lay here he would allow provissions for the whole fleet at free Cost, and for a present after agreement was made he would give us 1600 mds. of Rice & ca provissions proportionable and an Island or any other place where wee pleased to settle wholly to our selves and what people wee took prisoners should bee our owne. After this discourse and his promise of meeting Capt. Heath on sunday being the 17th day of february at Budder Mucome, a day look[ed] upon by them to bee a good saitt [*sic*], I took my leave and departed towards our ships, where coming to the place they lay at an Anchor [found] they were gone. By good luck Capt. Haddock having eight men on shoare the Island sent his pinnace where accidentally I arrived and came safe aboard where verbatim was declared every particular to Capt. Heath and to the Agent and Council for their further approbation.

George Croke.

Dated the 15 February 1688 [1688/9].

By the relation it is apparent the Nabob Bahauder Caune was really intended to make use of us in this expedition and relyed on our promise to serve him there, notwithstanding all that hath been alleadged to the Contrary ; and now still here is an opportunity left for the introducing a thorough settlement of the Rt. Honble. Compas. Affairs in Bengall ; but since our advice availeth nothing wee silently [wish] this proffer may bee improved to their advantage.

16th.—Parted from Arackan Road.

19th.—This day Capt. Heath called all the Comanders and Masters on board, and there gave them there sailing orders for Madrass.

IN A VOYAGE TO MADRASS FEBRUARY 1688 [1688/9]

19th.—This noon was spyed at Topmast head a saile to windward after which Capt. Heath dispeeded Capt. Haddock in the *Recovery* and Capt Barrack in the *Mergin* frigatt that they examine what that said saile is.

The [*sic*] evening a seaman belongin to Capt. Sharp fell over board and was never seen afterward.

11st.—Mr. James Sowdon and the rest of the Rt. Honble. Compas. Servants on board the *Recovery* requesting some wine for their table an order was given them on Capt. Hampton for delivery of a Chest of Shirash wine (14). To The Rt. Worppl. Job. Charnock Esqr. Agent &ca. Councill.

Tis the humble request of us the Rt. Honble. Compas. Servants on board the Ship *Recovery* being informed that the rest of the Rt. Honble. Compas. servants aboard all other Ships has been allowed a Chest of Siraz wine, therefore we hope that your worship &ca. may be pleased to take into your serious Consideration to give us an order on Capt. Hampton for the same, he having one of the Rt. Honble. Compas. [2Chests] on board here, and we with all humble Submission crave leave to subscribe

Rt. Worppl. &ca.

Your most humble and most obedient Servants

Ja : Sowd n

Edward Dean Sowton

Jonathan White (15)

George Croke

Herbett Sawyer

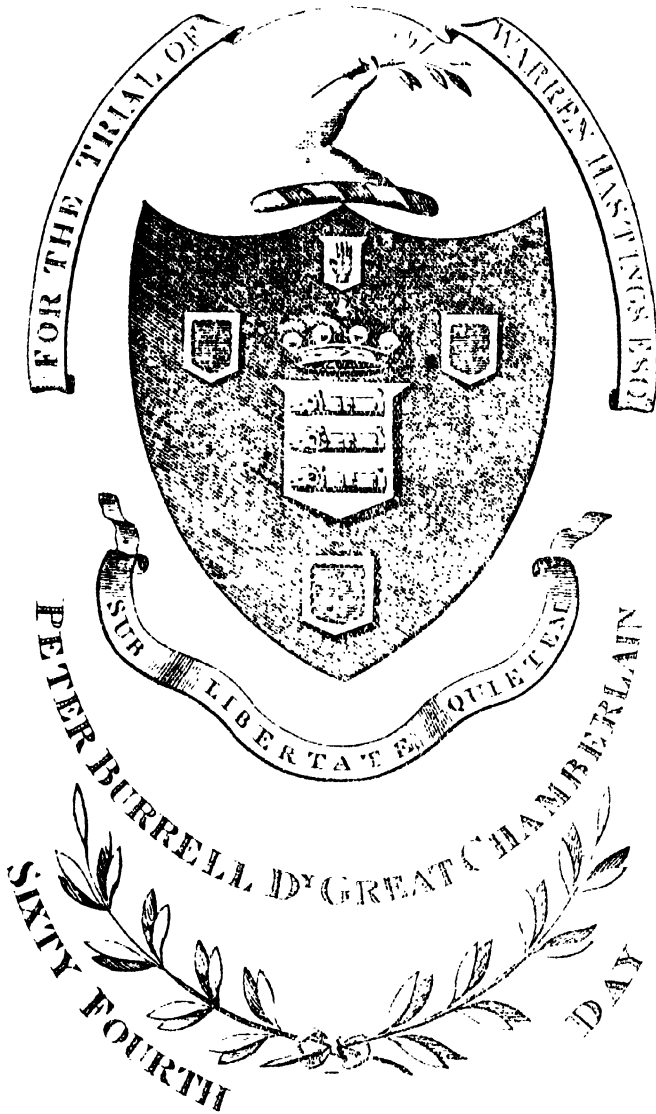
March the 3d.—Spyed land on the Coast of Coramandell.

4th.—Anchored this morning in Madrass road; after Dinner Capt. Heath went ashoare.

5th. The Rt. Worppl. the Agent went ashoare to the Honble. the President of Fort St. George.

(14) " Each Day there is prepared a Publick Table for the Use of the President and the rest of the Factory [at Suratt] . . . The Table is spread with the choicest Meat and equal plenty of generous Sherash and Arak Punch.'—Ovington. "A Voyage t Suratt in the Year 1689." The Wine of Shiraz was a favourite drink with the factors.

(15) Jonathan White married Charnock's youngest daughter Catharine who died on January 21, 1700. One of the black stone slabs which have been placed within the Charnock Mausoleum in St. John's Churchyard, bears a Latin inscription to her memory. Among the similar slabs, which were arranged in 1802 around the base of the Mausoleum, is one which records (also in Latin) the death on January 23, 1703-4, of White himself. He was then second in Council under the Presidency of John Beard. By his will he appoints that "my body be interr'd near my late wife in her father's toomb, and that a toomb stone of about one yard square be engraved in the usuall manner and sett up in said toomb."



TICKET OF ADMISSION TO THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS.

Edmund Burke and the Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

THE following letters of Edmund Burke were purchased for the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall by Lord Curzon at the sale of the papers of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, which was held at Sotheby's on June 2, 1924. When Pitt's India Bill was passed in 1784, Dundas became a Member of the Board of Control and was President from 1793 to 1801: and he preserved a number of letters from Burke which give evidence of the remarkable interest which he displayed in the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

The first letter is dated October 11, 1787, and is from Burke to Dundas. The conduct of Impey in connexion with the jaghire of Munnear-ood-Dowlah is discussed (1) and an interview is requested in order that the procedure for the trial of Hastings may be settled.

* * * * *

Sir,

I did not think it right to break in upon your recess, by troubling you whilst you were in Scotland, with anything concerning the subject on which you honoured me with a Letter on your departure. But as the season of Business approaches I may now be excused in reminding you that in the hurry of more important affairs you mistook the nature and object of the application I took the liberty of making to you. I was in no error about the Title of the party concerning the Estate in question; I could not indeed, because I had not formed any opinion whatsoever about it; whether the property was Jaghire, Ultunga or Enam (2) were to me matters of perfect indifference; I know little of the Merits of the Cause, and nothing at all of the Parties. But the sole matter which I recommended to your attention was, whether a judgment given in a Cause should or should not be executed, if neither the competence of the Court, nor the integrity of the Judge were impeached before a proper authority. Nothing can be more simple than the point proposed for consideration and nothing can be more essential to the well being, perhaps to the very being, of the people of property in these provinces, than

(1) The reference appears to be to the "Patna Cause," which arose out of litigation between the widow and the nephew of a Mahomedan jaghiradar in the Patna district. The Supreme Court at Fort William claimed jurisdiction over the nephew on the ground that he was a farmer of the revenue under the Company: and gave damages against him amounting to £34,000. The Company allowed the time for appeal to lapse, although granted an extension of time by a special statute enacted in 1781, and eventually paid the damages. Act 21 Geo. III, c. 70 deprived the Supreme Court of jurisdiction in any matter concerning the revenue or its collection. It also legalized the Company's Courts and empowered the Indian executive to make Regulations.

(2) Various forms of tenure of rent-free land.

the possibility of their having some final effective Tribunal to which they can resort. Sir Elijah Impey formed at that time the final Local Tribunal at Calcutta, if not *de jure*, certainly *de facto*. If he gave a corrupt passionate, or absurd Judgment, (things of which I do not in the least question the probability) it ought to be rescinded on account of that corruption, passion, or absurdity. But you will, I think, agree that it ought to be decided in one way or other, or to be put into a Train of decision. This however is a matter, which though of considerable moment, is not equally important with that on which I wish three Minutes conversation with you. Parliament is called upon the present posture of affairs—at least I conceive it is, and it is of consequence, that the affair of Mr. Hastings may be so arranged as that it may interfere as little with other important Business as possible. I wish therefore to settle with you the time and manner of proceeding, so as on one hand to avoid unnecessary delay in the Trial, as on the other to make it interfere as little as we can with other concerns. At what hour to-day may I have these three minutes discourse.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient & humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

October 11th, 1787, Thursday morn.

* * * * *

The second letter is also from Burke to Dundas, and is dated Gerrard Street December 9, 1787. In it Burke gives emphatic expression to his opinion that Francis is not disqualified to act on the Select Committee appointed for the preparation of the charges against Hastings by reason of the duel in which, he says, Hastings "endeavoured to kill him and very nearly succeeded in that attempt."

* * * * *

Sir,

I am much obliged to you for the pains you have taken to satisfy me concerning your refusal of my request. Not being very well in health, and finding all further discussion more likely to be troublesome to you than useful to myself, I shall not attempt to reply at large to what you have offered with regard to the Majority of the House, and their dispositions towards Mr. Francis. Their Tone is pretty high; though I cannot help expressing my apprehensions, that this affair may not turn out as much to their credit, as I wish all their measures to do; and I fear it will turn out very mischievously to the Impeachment which yourself, Mr. Pitt, and I, have so much at heart.

Of the motives which govern the Majority in this instance I do not presume to judge. As to their reasons, which I have never heard in Debate, but which are circulated in conversation, they appear to me to go upon grounds,

that are to me entirely new and unlooked for. They think it argues Malice in Mr. Francis, not to desert his prosecution of Mr. Hastings, begun under the express injunctions of Legal authority, because in the course of that prosecution Mr. Hastings, had endeavoured to kill him, and had very nearly succeeded in that attempt. The general ground of argument, the morality of the principle, and the application of both to this case, are considerations far above my pitch of understanding.

As to the facility of supplying Mr. Francis's place I have the misfortune of not being able to concur with you in opinion. These are matters in which no man can be instructed to speak as from a Brief—or if he could so speak, he could never be ready if he were once engaged in the detail.

That Mr. Francis might give us some secret assistance is true, but as he cannot act as a Manager, he could never give it to use on the emergency of the instant occasion and your experience will point out to you the consequences of seeming to be at a loss upon a Trial. But I must confess I see, and I think on recollection you will see, some other difficulties. To acquiesce in stigmatizing a person as the worst of Mankind, and at the same time to call for his assistance, appears to me not quite decent nor quite consistent. To act towards him as a man of distinguished ill qualities and to expect from him an heroic self denial, and virtues almost supernatural are things to my poor understanding not very reconcilable. What he will do I know not; at present I have not courage enough to ask him. I am not partial to Mr. Francis. I have no ground for partiality towards him. As Mr. Hastings never did me any injury, or refused me any request, so I have never asked any favour whatsoever from Mr. Francis, nor ever received any from him, except what this Country acquired in his honourable, able, upright administration.

I have troubled you more than I intended: My concern for what has happend is very sincere.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble

Servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Gerard Street, December 9, 1787.

* * * * *

Other letters in the series which have, unfortunately, not found their way to Calcutta, include a three page letter dated Friday morning December 7, 1787, in which Burke declare that nothing in the world is dearer to his heart than the successful prosecution of Warren Hastings. He goes on to protest with great energy against the exclusion of Francis from the Select Committee. In two other letters of April and June 1787, Burke informs Dundas that the draft of the charges is nearing completion, insists that the attempt made by Hastings to obtain a commission to examine witnesses in India must be resisted: and enlarges upon the "horrible condition" of the Judicature in Bengal.

On "Sunday April 1st 1787, five o'clock in the afternoon," Burke expresses his concern at the delays which he fears will follow the plan which Pitt and Dundas are adopting in the prosecution of the impeachment. "The longer the delay the greater the difficulties which will be raised by the activity of Mr. Hasting's party".

A few days later, on Thursday April 5, 1787, Burke, writing in the third person, offers his strenuous opposition to the differentiation which Hastings makes of his correspondence into official and non-official, and contends that the whole correspondence should be produced. A later letter, dated March 25, 1789, requests an interview with Dundas respecting the prosecution of the impeachment and points out the dangers "to be expected from the Indian factions", if they escape unpunished. The reply of Dundas was purchased by Lord Curzon and is as follows:

* * * * *

INDIA OFFICE, 26th March
3 o'Clock.

Sir,

Owing to my being all night in the Country, I only just now received your Letter of yesterday's date. I have communicated it to Mr. Pitt, The motives which have actuated us in the business which your letter treats of are of a nature too forcible to allow any competition in our minds between them and any political Contingencies which may occur. From many reasons we cannot agree to take upon us any share in the managment of the Prosecution, but we have given and shall continue to give that support to it, which appears to us consistent with national Justice, and the Credit of the House of Commons, and I have not the least Hesitation in meeting with you for an hour at any time you please, to talk over the present stage of the business. I shall without reserve explain to you our present Ideas, and if it is consistent with your own opinions, to remove any difficulties which may have occurred to us upon any part of the future conduct of it, it would certainly tend to the ultimate success of the object we profess to have in view. If not, I trust there are no such differences of opinion as to retard the business being lodged in the House of Lords, with as much Expedition as can be consistent with a due attention to the regularity and accuracy of the Proceeding. I am obliged to go to the Navy Pay office on some official business to-morrow forenoon, but if you will appoint a time with Mr. Sheridan, any time on Wednesday forenoon, I shall have the honour of meeting with you at any time and place you think proper to appoint.

I have the honour to be,
with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient & humble servant,
HENRY DUNDAS.

Rt. Hon'ble Edmund Burke.

Mention must also be made of a letter, covering fourteen and a half pages and dated Beaconsfield, March 22, 1792, in which Burke makes a long and bitter attack upon Hastings.* We give the quotation which is printed in Sotheby's sale catalogue.

I see, the house appears resolved, that Mr. Hastings should direct in the prosecution, which under the name of the Commons, is carried on against himself: and that he shall control the expences of that prosecution... It is very remarkable... whilst we were active and he passive (he) was loud and incessant in his complaints of the injury which he suffered in his *own* fortune, by the length of the suit. This, though perfectly ill grounded as a *complaint*, was true as a *fact*, and as a *representation*... natural and plausible. But now... he has the insolence to pretend an indifference to his own concerns, and to be seized with a paroxysm of zeal for publick economy... He, it seems, is be the judge of the mode of presenting and arranging our evidence... We are in an unpleasant situation in regard. I believe, to *all* the gentlemen officially connected with you: who are enemies to this prosecution... and have no objection to anything which may impede, disgrace, or defeat it... I entreat that neither *my feelings*, nor *my interest*, may stand in the way of Justice—let the public have justice against Mr. Hasting. Let Mr. Hastings since he has found means of representing the public have justice against me... If I could get an assurance that this criminal would not be suffered... to baffle the managers and to disgrace the whole Judicature of Parliament... I would consent to exonerate the Nation of any further charge.

This letter is described in the catalogue as "undoubtedly the finest letter of Edmund Burke ever offered for sale": and it is matter for deep regret both that the entire text is not available and that Lord Curzon was not able to acquire the letter for the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Lastly, on Friday, June 7, 1793, Burke complains to Dundas in biting terms of the conduct of the House of Lords, especially of Lords Thurlow and Stanhope and the Bench of Bishops. He fears that "the power of the Indian interest will overpower the Government and bring disgrace upon the Administration." He anticipates the acquittal of Hastings and exclaims that "it will be the most scandalous thing the Nation can behold."

The trial, as we know, came to an end on April 23, 1795, and the final scene is thus described by Joseph Farington in his Diary:

April 23, 1795.—A little after eleven, came to Westminster Hall. The Lords came into the Hall at 1/4 before one o'clock and Mr. Hastings' acquittal was pronounced to him exactly at two o'clock. The Lords who voted were in all 29.—There were 16 charges.—The following Lords voted Mr. Hastings guilty on the first charge [that relating to Cheyt Singh]: The Lord Chancellor, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Suffolk, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl of Radnor, and Earl of Carnarvon.

The following Lords voted not guilty :—The Archbishop of York, the Duke of Bridgwater, Duke of Leeds, Marquiss Townshend, Earl of Coventry, Earl of Dorchester, Earl of Beverley, Earl of Warwick, Earl of Falmouth, Earl of Mansfield, Bishop of Bangor, Bishop of Rochester, Viscount Sidney, Lord Middleton, Lord Boston, Lord Thurlow, Lord Somers, Lord Walsingham, Lord Sandys, Lord Hawke, Lord Moira [the future Governor General of India] Lord Fife, Lord Morton. In one of the galleries there was a slight disposition to applaud on the conclusion, but it instantly subsided, and nothing could exceed the order and striking appearance of the audience assembled.

On the other charges, the acquittal was unanimous in two cases, including the principal charges of corruption, and the minority in favour of conviction in the others varied from two to six. Thus ended, says Farington, " this long protracted trial which has lasted seven years, two months, and eleven days, having begun on the 12th February, 1788. " We reproduce a facsimile of one of the tickets of admission, granted for the sixty-fourth day of the trial. The Court of Proprietors desired to give Hastings a pension of £500 and to pay his costs to the extent of £71,080 : but Pitt and Dundas vetoed both the grants.

" Probably, " says Dr. Vincent Smith in his *Oxford History of India*, " no person equipped with tolerably accurate knowledge of the facts could now be found to deny that the impeachment of Hastings was undeserved. " But " it is impossible to contest the truth of the observation of Lord Cornwallis that he was unjustly and cruelly persecuted. " The violence of Burke's attacks upon him was such that upon one occasion it drew down the censure of the House of Commons.

Pages from the Past.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Sir Eyre Coote and his Ghyretty Estate.

GHYRETTY, the famous country house near Chandernagore which was built on the ruins of the palace of Dupleix and was described by Grandpré as the finest building in India, is to-day a heap of crumbling stones lost in jungle. But there was a time when its noble staircase and spacious saloon with ceiling and cornice "painted by the hand of a master" were thought to rival the splendour of the public rooms at Versailles. The following extracts illustrate the connexion of Ghyretty with that famous soldier, Eyre Coote.

On March 26, 1779, Sir Eyre Coote K. B. took his seat for the first time as a member of the Supreme Council in Calcutta: his colleagues were the Governor-General, Mr. Richard Barwell, Mr. Philip Francis and Mr. Edward Wheler. On April 13 he brought forward his claim to certain property near Calcutta. I transcribe the minutes of the Governor-General's Proceedings for that date (1).

"Sir Eyre Coote delivers in the following minute:

"I request the Board's attention for a few minutes.....I beg leave to acquaint them that in the year 1762 I obtained from the Nabob Cossim Ally Cawn a grant of the Ground at Ghyretty on which the house lately occupied by Mr. Chevalier (2) stands, together with—(3) begas around it, comprehending Mukketpoor and Champdanny. That during my former residence in Bengal I was in possession of the House and Ground and that it was long after my return to Europe sold in 1769 by Mr. Verelst one of my attorneys to Raja Nobkissen for 20,000 rupees which sum the Raja paid to him, but which I have never received. That as the land in question was never delivered over to Nobkissen he demands of me the money which he paid to Mr. Verelst with interest thereon and as I mean to answer his claim I must beg that the Board will be pleased to direct that I may be again put in full possession of the House and Ground, it being my lawful Property.

"As I have not brought with me the representation which I delivered in to the Court of Directors.....and as a copy of it cannot be found among the Records of the Secretary's office, I am compelled to trouble the Governor-General with a request that he will be pleased to state to the Board such circumstances relative to this matter as come within his memory; He was the Person who obtained the grant for me in 1762 from the then Nabob of Bengal.

(1) G. G. P., April 13, 1779. The actual spelling of the manuscript account of the Proceedings has been copied.

(2) Chevalier was the Governor of Chandernagore from 1769 to 1787, "qui soutenait contre Warren Hastings, l'omnipotent pro-consul anglais, une lutte de plume véritablement héroïque."

(3) Left blank in the MS.

" *Governor-General.*

" In the year 1762 when I was employed on a public Deputation from the President and Council to the Nabob Cossim Ally Cawn, who was at that time in the Province of Behar, I myself solicited and received from him a sannad or some other equivalent legal Deed, conferring on Sir Eyre Coote, then Colonel Coote, a right of property in the land of Ghyyetty. This Deed I carried with me to Calcutta and delivered it into the hands of Col. Coote. This is all that I know or remember with certainty concerning the above transaction, and the truth of this I am able and willing to attest upon oath.

" A period of seventeen years, and that of the most busy part of my life, having since elapsed, it will not be thought extraordinary that I should have forgot the contents of the sannad or the portions of land specified in it; but these will appear in the accompanying Account No. 2 which I received from Rajah Nobkissen, and he from Kriperam the late Sheristadar or head of the Conongoes office at Houghly, extracted from the books of his Office. For the rest I must beg leave to refer to the accompanying Affidavits taken this day before me.

(Signed) W[arren] H[astings.]

" Deposition of Maha Rajah Nobkissen Bahadre.

" From the commencement of the Bengal year 1169 the village of Gurretti at the jumma of Rs. 1098 6g. 2c., Muckutpore which adjoins the village of Gurretti aforesaid at the jumma of Rs. 304 14a. 8g., and the village of Chapdaney at the jumma of Rs. 368 3g. 2c., altogether amounting to the sum of Rs. 1770 14a. 18g., the fixed jumma, General Coote has in jaghier by a Sannad from the Nabob Cossim Ally Khawn, and the rent of the aforesaid jaghier mahals is paid into the Company's Treasury in the Rents of the Chiklah of Hooghly. Mr. Verelst, the former Governor, the said General's attorney, on the 30th of November 1169 (4) sold me the said jaghier for the consideration of 20,000 Sicca rupees and delivered the original sunnud to Mr. Cox to prepare a conformable sunnud. By the death of that gentleman and the duplicity of the administration the sunnud was not obtained by which means I did not get possession of the aforesaid jaghier. What I have written I give as true under the sanction of an oath.

A true translation

Sd/- J. H. D'Oyly.

Persn. Transr.

Maha Rajah

Nobkissen Bahadre

" Maha Rajah Nobkissen came before me and swore to the truth of the contents of this paper, this 13th day of April 1779.

Sd/- Warren Hastings

(4) Sir in MS : presumably a mistake for 1769. The Bengali year 1169-70 coincided with the year 1763 A.D. Hence, perhaps the confusion.

" Memorandum of the particulars of the jumma of the village of Gurattee etc., the jaghier of General Coote, agreeable to the account delivered by Kirparam Sing Sherishtadar, Mohurrir of Juggut Ram Canongoe, of the Chiklah of Houghly who gave it me from the jumma as it stands in the Records of the Sirkar.

Gurretti--Vizt.,	R. A. P.	G. C.
The division of Munnohar Roy Zamindar ...	906 15 1	
The division of Gungadar Roy Zamindar ...	191 1 5.2	
	1098 0 6.2	
Village of Muckutpore adjoining to Gurretti Vizt.,		
The division of Munnohar Roy Zamindar ...	304 14 8.0	
Village of Chaupdaney—vizt.,		
The division of Taiz Chand Roy Zamindar	21 11 17.3	
The division of Munnohar Roy	304 4 5.3	
	368 0 9 2	
	1770 14 18	

A true translation Sd/- Juggut Ram Deeb

Sd/- J. H. D'Oyly.

Persn. Transr.

" Juggatram Deeb came before me and swore to the truth of the contents of this paper this 13th day of April 1779.

Sd/- Warren Hastings.

" Copy of the Diary of the 29th of December 1769 when Maha Rajah Nobkissen Bahadre's account with Mr. Verelst the Governor was settled.

Credited Mr. Verelst feu (5) account the villages of Garetti and Chupdanny. the jaghier of General Coote, Sa. Rs. 20,000.

A true translation. Sd/- Maha Rajah Nob-Kissen

Sd/- J. H. D'Oyly.

Persn. Transr.

" Compared with the original in my presence and sworn to be a true copy by Maha Rajah Nob Kissen, this 13th day of April 1779.

Sd/- Warren Hastings.

" Ordered

" That Sir Eyre Coote be put in full possession of the House and Ground of Ghyretty according to his Request, and that the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records be directed to report to the Board the regular process and to lay before them the Deeds which may be necessary to be executed by them for the same. "

In the Proceedings of the Governor-General and Council recorded for April 20, 1779, the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, Mr. G. G. Ducarel, submitted the report required by the Board, after consultation with the Roy

(5) This word is undecipherable : but appears to be " feu". Query : per.

Royan and the Kanungos. The first step which these officials declared to be necessary was to grant to Sir Eyre Coote a sanad giving him possession of the house and ground at Ghyretty. In making such grants there were four different kinds of sanad (used) viz. lakhiraj, altamgha, jaigir, or barjai (6) "all of which exempt the grantee from paying rent, only in the latter (sic) case, the jumma of the lands granted is assessed on the neighbouring Zamindars." After the grant of the sanad, the lands must be surveyed and marked out by a Government Amin "by going round them and sticking bamboos into the ground at the different extremities." They must then be publicly delivered to the grantee or his representative. The Superintendent concluded by asking for the Board's orders.

On the advice of the Governor-General, a Lakhiraj sanad was made out, as being, so far as he could recollect, the nearest equivalent of the original sanad; this sanad "conveyed a right of permanent property without any conditions of personal service or honours annexed to it."

The following is a translation of the sunnud granted to Sir Eyre Coote on April 20, 1779.

"To the Mutsuddies for affairs present and future, the Chowderries, Carongoes, ryots and husbandmen of Mojah Ghyretty etc. situated in pergunnah Boree, in Sircar Satgam, dependant on the chucklah of Houghley, in the paradise of regions, the Soubah of Bengal.

"Be it known, that agreeable to the Furd Sawal (7) which has obtained the signature, and whereof the contents are inserted is the endorsement, the aforementioned mojahs, in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General and Council, are settled together with the house thereon from the commencement of the Bengal year 1186 eleven hundred and eighty six (8) on the footing of La-kharage, agreeable to the endorsement, on the High and dignified in Rank, the Great and elevated in Dignity, the most exalted, the Sword of the

(5) *Lakhiraj*, sometimes, *Lakharaj*; Rent-free land, applied to land exempted for some particular reason from paying any part of the produce to the State.

Altamgha; a royal grant under the seal of the Emperor recognised by the British Government as conferring a title to rent-free land in perpetuity, hereditary, and transferable.

Jagir; a tenure under which the public revenues of a given tract of land were made over to a servant of the State, together with requisite powers. The assignment was either conditional or unconditional, generally for the life-time of the holder, often renewed to his heirs; unless definitely specified to be hereditary, it was considered to be for life only.

Barjai; literally, "forcing people to buy goods at a rate in excess of the market or *nirik* price." It also means a grant of land rent-free made by a Zemindar to a tenant, accompanied by a corresponding enhancement of the rents of other tenants to make good the loss in revenue occasioned by the grant. Wilson states the derivation of this word to be uncertain and suggests *বর্জী* (abandoning).

The above definitions are taken from Wilson's Glossary.

(7) *Fard-i-Sawal*: an application. "The recommendatory report of a Revenue Officer in favour of the grant of a Zamindari Sonad to the person named in the application, and specifying the districts to be granted." (Wilson).

(8) A. D. 1779,

Country, the Regulator of the State, General Coote Bahader, the Victorious in War, to the end that he and his descendants after him from generation to generation may enjoy the produce thereof. It is requisite that you do not give him any kind of trouble or molestation on account of the Revenue of the said ground but permit him to enjoy full possession, as well thereof as of the house without demanding a new Sunnud from him every year. Consider the strictest attention due hereunto. Dated the 20th April in the English year 1779 agreeing with the 2nd of Bysack of the Bengal year 1186, or the 2nd or Rubby ul Sany the 20th year of the Reign. "

Then follows the endorsement which repeats most of the Sanad and contains the details already mentioned of the jama, and the names of the authorities, i. e. the Zamindars and Chaudhurs responsible for the Revenue. The document ends thus: " Copied in the Dewanny Duftar, the 20th of April of the English year 1779, agreeing with the 2nd of the month of Rubby-ul-Sany, in the 20th year of the Reign. "

A true translation.

(Signed) W. Chalmers.

Ps. Tranr. to the Kha [ls]a.

A Chinaman's Petition.

The following extract is taken from the Governor-General Proceedings of June 19, 1778:

Our next extract is taken from the Governor-General's Proceedings of June 19, 1778:

" The Petition of At-hew Chinese Humbly Sheweth,

" That your petitioner being a native of Canton proceeded to Bengal on board the Favourite, Captain Parks, bringing with him a property and freight ; and being about to return to his native country is desirous of quitting a mercantile life with a view to settle in Bengal, and would wish to bring with him on his return from China as many of his countrymen skilled in husbandry as he may be able to obtain conveyance for on the ships from China of this season, provided such an intent to colonize here meets with the approbation of the Hon'ble Board ; and that through the favour and protection of Government he might have lands allotted him for the support of his people in proportion to what he might reasonably be supposed to bring into cultivation in the course of five years which he imagines may amount, and therefore prays may be granted him, to the extent of 2000 begas.

And your petitioner in duty bound shall ever pray.

(Signed in Chinese characters). "

The Board " for the sake of giving all due encouragement to so industrious a race of people as the Chinese to settle in these provinces " granted the petition, and ordered that " the quantity of land which he shall thus have improved shall remain his property rent free for ever. What further improvements he may make after that period [five years] will be subject to the customary modes and rules of taxation.

The First Bengali Grammar and the First Government Printing Press.

Those members of the Calcutta Historical Society, who attended that most interesting exhibition of historical relics which Mr. Abdul Ali assembled in the rooms of the Asiatic Society in January, 1923, will probably recall a copy of the first Bengali Grammar in English, compiled by Mr. Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and printed by Mr. Charles Wilkins, both of the Hon'ble Company's service. The subjoined extracts from the Governor-General's Proceedings, in the Revenue Department during the year 1778, will be of interest as showing how much Warren Hastings had at heart anything which tended to promote efficient work, and congenial intercourse between the British and Indian subjects of the Company. Compared to his efforts the rest of the Board's interest was languid, but his generous offer to be responsible for the cost, if need be, found an echo.

Mr. Halhed, from his first arrival in the country had distinguished himself for his scholarship in Persian and Sanscrit. He joined the Company's Service after being jilted, (so says the *Dictionary of National Biography*) by Miss Linley, who married his old school friend Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

The grammar was printed at Hooghly in 1778. To do this Mr. Halhed set up his own printing press, which was the first printing press to be set up in India. The course of his labours seems to have been illuminated by romance for he married, not long after, Helena Ribaut, the daughter of the Dutch Governor of Chinsura, and it may be fairly conjectured that the printing of his grammar was the indirect cause of their meeting. He died in 1830.

Mr. Charles Wilkins who cut the type, received a knighthood in 1838. He compiled the glossary which was attached to the famous Fifth Report and its appendix : and was the first Librarian at the India House.

Our first extract is taken from the Governor-General's Proceedings of January 9, 1788.

The Governor-General lays before the Board the specimen of a Bengal Grammar written by Mr. Halhed and intended to be printed by Mr. Wilkins, which has been presented to him by those gentlemen and he recommends it to this Board as a work highly meriting their countenance and patronage. Besides the great labour and assiduity which have been bestowed upon it, a considerable expense has already been incurred in the prosecution of it, which, if the Board concur in their opinion of the utility of such a publication, they will doubtless think it reasonable to reimburse. He will not at this time offer that or any other proposition to the Board or anticipate the judgment which they may pass upon it after examination, but content himself at present with simply recommending to it their perusal.

On February 20, the Governor-General delivered a further minute on this subject, which is thus recorded :

On the 9th ultimo I recommended to the consideration of the Board and to their patronage a work jointly undertaken by Messrs Halhed and

Wilkins which I thought likely to be attended with great advantages to the Service. I mean the composition and printing of a grammar of the Bengali language. At the same time I laid before the Board a specimen of this performance already executed. This I understand to be nearly one half of the work. It is my opinion, and I hope the other members of the Board will agree in the same sentiments, highly deserving not only the encouragement, but the substantial assistance of Government. The original composition is, I venture to pronounce on my own judgment, correct and not devoid of elegance. The form in which it is proposed to appear for the sake of giving it publication is the effect of an attempt hitherto untried in this country, and has been executed with a degree of perfection which might have been expected only from long practice and successive improvements. The Board will judge whether in the present state and constitution of the Government it ought to be reckoned a part of its duties to encourage the efforts of genius or facilitate the introduction of new arts by which the dispatch of business may be quickened, or even the general intercourse of society rendered more practicable. For my own part, yielding to the impression of this principle, and convinced it could not be better applied to the occasion in question, I have given every aid to the undertaking which it was in my power to afford it. It was begun and continued by my advice and even solicitation. It has been attended with much trouble and some expense. To encourage the prosecuting of it and to compensate for the time which they shall have bestowed on it, I venture to recommend that they be both directed to prosecute it under the sanction of Government with a promise that the whole impression when finished, which will amount to 1000 copies, may be taken as the property of the Company and that a gratuity be allowed to the present proprietors of 30 rupees for each copy, to be distributed at the same rate to such of the servants of the Company, or others who may chuse to take them, under the direction of the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records. If the Board shall deem this proportion, from the novelty of it, improper, as I am well convinced, from the liberal encouragement which the Court of Directors have given to other performances much inferior both in composition and utility, that I shall run no risk in what I shall now add, I request that the Board will permit me to receive from the Company's Treasury for the above purpose the sum which will be required for it, on my giving a bond for the amount, payable at the expiration of two years from the date of it unless me by permitting the charge to be placed to their account (9)

The members minuted as follows :

Mr. Francis. " I approve of the undertaking, and do not doubt but our giving it encouragement will be approved of by the Court of Directors.

I would consent therefore to engage for 500 copies on the terms proposed by the Governor (*sic*) and to recommend the remainder of the proposal to their favourable consideration. On this footing it will be unnecessary for the Governor to bind himself personally to be responsible for an act in which I am willing to take my share.

Governor-General. I entirely agree in the amendment made by Mr. Francis.

Mr. Wheler. I likewise agree.

It was accordingly *Resolved* that 500 copies of the Bengal grammar composed and printed by Messrs Halhed and Wilkinson be taken as the property of the Company, that a gratuity be allowed to those gentlemen of 30 rupees for each copy and that it be recommended to them to prosecute the work under the sanction and protection of this Government :

Resolved further that the remainder of the Governor-General's proposal on this subject be recommended to the favourable consideration of Court of Directors : and *Ordered* that the Secretary do communicate these resolutions to Messrs Halhed and Wilkins and that the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records be directed to receive 500 copies of the Bengal grammar from those gentlemen and distribute them at the above rate to such of the Company's servants or other as may chuse to take them and that he be further directed to advance 15000 rupees being the amount of 500 copies to Messrs Halhed and Wilkins from the Khalsa Treasury.

On April 28, 1778, the Governor-General reported progress (10) :

Mr. Wilkins having prepared twenty-four separate impressions of the preface of Mr. Halhed's grammar, I request that the Board will permit them to be sent with a specimen of the grammar itself, comprising one hundred pages, to the Court of Directors by the present Dispatch.

" The proposition therein contained having been agreed to, the Books of the Bengal Grammar were accordingly dispatched to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors in a separate Packet on the 25th instant. "

This encouraging compliment was not lost on the printer of the grammar. On 13th November 1778 (11), an application from Mr. Wilkins to print a large number of Government publications was submitted for the Board's consideration. It had the approval of the Governor-General who proposed the establishment of a Government Printing Office under the superintendence of Mr. Wilkins.

The rates which Mr. Wilkins proposed to charge were, for every quire of English impression Rs. 3/- or, if printed on both sides, Rs. 5/-. For printing in Persian or Bengali characters the charges were Rs. 5/- and Rs. 7/-. He

(10) G. G. P., 23 April, 1778.

(11) G. G. P., 13 November, 1778.

proposed to print pattas, kabuliyats, amalnamas, parwanas, chalans, rawanas, passes, and (in English only) commissions, warrants and daily balance sheets.

The rest of the Board (12) were not so liberal in their views as the Governor-General and ordered the proposal to lie for consideration, at the same time consenting to pay Mr. Wilkins at the rates proposed "for such papers as he may print for the use of the Company". This left him to find his own staff, and maintain his own press.

The staff proposed by Mr. Wilkins for a printing office with two presses was as follows:—

2 compositors in Bengali and Persian	at Rs. 75/- per mensem each.
1 compositor in English	at Rs. 100 p. m.
1 sorter	" " 20 p. m.
1 pundit	" " 30 p. m.
1 munshi	" " 30 p. m.
8 press-men	" " 7 (each) p. m.
1 hand press-man	" " 12 p. m.
4 peons	" " 5 (each) p. m.
1 jemadar	" " 10 p. m.
1 book-binder	" " 15 p. m.

On December 22, 1778 (13) the Governor-General again brought the matter forward, and moved that a printing office be established under the direction of Mr. Wilkins who was to be paid Rs. 350/- per month and a further sum of Rs. 350/- p. m. for house-rent; his suggested establishment and proposed rates of printing were to be accepted, and also at the end of one year the whole scheme was to be reconsidered by the Board.

Messrs. Wheler and Francis objected to the proposals but Mr. Wheler was in favour of allowing Mr. Wilkins to print papers for the Company at the proposed rates, provided that the Company did not incur the fixed and recurring cost of a printing press.

Mr. Barwell (this time in attendance) supported the Governor-General and it was resolved "that a printing office be established under the direction of Mr. Wilkins, with the monthly salaries and allowances for expenses together with rates of printing inserted in the papers recorded in Consultation of the 13th of November and that this establishment be formed for one year and then to cease unless the Board by a new act shall think proper to continue it." It was further resolved "that Mr. Wilkins be allowed a salary of Rs. 350/- per month and a further sum of Rs. 350/- for house rent". The expense was to be defrayed from the Khalsa Treasury.

This was the first printing press of the British Government in India; and Mr. Wilkins is thus the official ancestor of the Controller of Printing, and of the officers in charge of the presses controlled by the Provincial Governments.

(12) Mr. Barwell was absent.

(13) G. G. P., 22 December, 1778.

Brick Kilns in Calcutta.

Our last extract is taken from the Proceedings of the Board of Inspection, for December 14, 1775 (14):

" The Board observing that, notwithstanding the prohibition which has from ancient time subsisted against the burning of bricks within the town or environs of Calcutta, except such as are provided by the Contractor for the use of the Company and the Public, many brick kilns have been raised and are daily made by individuals not only in the neighbourhood but even in the most habitable parts of the town of Calcutta, which not only proves a great hindrance to the brick contractor by depriving him or the workmen required for the performance of his contract but is also a great present nuisance and must eventually prove the cause of rendering the air of Calcutta unwholesome by the multitude of excavations occasioned thereby, which will be filled with stagnated water in the course of the rains, than which nothing can be more pernicious, and the Board conceiving that they have an undoubted right both by usage and the general practice of all well regulated communities to prevent an evil so detrimental to the good of society : *Resolved* that a publication be immediately made forbidding all persons whatsoever to burn bricks within the distance of six miles from the old Fort in the town of Calcutta after February 1st next excepting the contractor to furnish the Hon'ble Company with bricks for the use of their public works who is also restricted to the other side of the River. "

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.



THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL.
(From a Photograph by Capt. V. Auvergne, D.C.M., M.C.)

The Victoria Memorial Hall.

RECENT ACQUISITIONS TO THE COLLECTION.

THE latest acquisitions to the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall reached Calcutta a few days before the melancholy news of Lord Curzon's death was made public. In common with so many other treasures which are on view at the Hall, their presence in Calcutta is entirely due to his energy and enthusiasm.

The most important are a set of four oil-paintings by Thomas Daniell, which were once the property of the late Lord Havcrsham and were purchased at Christie's on February 22, 1924. These are : (1) " A view of Jambukrishna, the Great Hindoo Temple, on the Island of Seringham, near Trichinopoli, East Indies " exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1817 : (2) " Gate leading to Hindoo Temple at Tritchencore ", exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1795 : (3) " Hindoos returning from making an offering to the idol at the Temple of Vishnu, at Secunder Mali, near Madura, East Indies ", exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1822 : and (4) " A Part of the mansoleum of Nuwaub Assuph Khan at Rajemahl on the western bank of the river Ganges ". exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1822. All four are among the finest examples of the work of the elder Daniell.

There are also portraits of the Duke of Wellington, painted by John Hayter at Maresfield in 1825, of Asaf-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh from 1775 to 1798, painted at Lucknow by Ozias Humphry, R. A., (who was in India from 1785 to 1788) and of Colonel F. A. Daniell of the Madras Army, Commandant of the Governor-General's Bodyguard from 1802 to 1806, by Sir Robert Ker Porter, the painter of the panorama of the Fall of Seringapatam, of which an account was given in a recent number of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 9-10). With the last portrait of the first Lord Minto by Chinnery, which forms another noteworthy addition, we deal elsewhere.

Attention must also be drawn to the six sepia drawings of Calcutta by William Wood, Junior, which are the originals of the panoramic views of Chowringhee published in 1833, and four water-colour panels representing a procession at Delhi on the occasion of the Mohurram, in which the Mogul Emperor Akbar Shah the Second (1806 to 1837) is seen on an elephant accompanied by Sir David Ochterlony, Resident at Delhi from 1803 to 1806 and again from 1812 to 1821. There are also copies presented by the present Earl of Elgin of the portraits of the first Earl (Governor-General from 1862 to 1863) by Sir Francis Grant, P. R. A., and of the third Earl (Governor-General from 1894 to 1899) by Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A. From Her Majesty the Queen comes a painting on glass of the surrender of Tippoo Sultan's Sons to Lieutenant General Harris in 1799.

A fine series of mezzotints includes portraits of Lieut. General Harris (who was created Baron Harris of Seringapatam and Mysore in 1815) Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares in 1788 and Governor of Bombay from 1795 to 1811, Sir Charles Oakeley, Governor of Fort Saint George from 1792 to 1794, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Fort Saint George from 1820 to 1827, Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, father of Lord Metcalfe and Director of the East India Company from 1789 to 1812 (regarding whom William Hickey has much to say in the first volume of his *Memoirs*), Sir Charles Wilkins (1750-1836) the eminent orientalist and first Librarian at the India House, and, last but not least, an engraving by R. Cooper (1807) of George Place's picture of Lord Lake at the battle of Laswarree, when his horse was shot under him. The list is completed by two autograph letters written by Edmund Burke to Henry Dundas in 1787 (1), and a set of plans of Barrackpore Park (drawn up in 1815) and also of "Lord Wellesley's proposed Government House" (drawn by Thomas Best, assistant in the drawing office of Captain Charles Wyatt, the Chief Engineer).

To these must be added a series of unpublished water-colour sketches by Lieut. James Hunter, the author of "Picturesque Views in Mysore" (1805) which have been purchased by the Trustees. These comprise a sketch of General David Baird and Colonel Wellesley leading out the sons of the late Tippoo Sultan from the zenana and the following types of Tippoo's soldiery: a tulwar-man, a spear-man, a rocket-man, a short swordsman, a standard bearer, a long swordsman, a sepoy, and a tulwar-man receiving a cavalry charge.

(1) The text of these letters is given on pages 201 to 206.

The Murder of Gurgin Khan.

IN the *Statesman* of the 15th February last there appeared a letter on the subject of the murder of Gurgin Khan, in which reference is made to some History of Bengal in Persian "whose author's name and date of publication are in obscurity because of the loss of the title page and some eighty pages from the end of the book." There seems reason to suspect from the summary which follows (1) that this unnamed author had perused Ghulam Husain Khan's *Siyar-ul-mutakharin*, or Raymond's translation thereof with his notes. As Raymond pointed out, Ghulam Husain Khan's references to Gurgin Khan are clearly tainted by prejudice. The highest admiration, on the other hand, of the character of this remarkable man is expressed in the account of his end given by M. Gentil in his *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan, ou Empire Mogol*, published in Paris in 1822. As this work is seldom available now, a translation of the portion relating to the death of Gurgin Khan may be welcome to the readers of *Bengal Past and Present* (2). The original will be found on pp. 217-25 of the French edition.

Jean Baptiste Joseph Gentil, Colonel of Infantry and Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of Saint-Louis, was born in 1726. He went out to India in 1752 with his regiment, and served with distinction under Dupleix, de Bussy, Law of Lauriston, de Conflans and de Lally. After the capitulation of Chandernagore to the English, he entered the service of Qasim 'Ali Khan, being a personal friend of Khwaja Gregory, better known by his Persian name, Gurgin Khan, the Nawab's Armenian general. After Qasim 'Ali's defeat and expulsion across the Karamnasa, Gentil joined Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh and Wazir-ul-mulk, and was present with him at the battle of Buxar. He retired to his own country in 1778, and died in 1799, at the age of 73, at Bagnols, where he had been born.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE STORY AS TOLD IN GENTIL'S MEMOIRES.

After the capture of Rajmahal, Qasim 'Ali Khan wrote from his camp to the English general [Major Thomas Adams] to the effect that if he [Adams] advanced any further, he would swear upon the Quran that he would have all the English prisoners in his control killed.

Major Adams, regarding this threat as merely a scheme conceived in his weakness by the Nawab to prevent him advancing, continued his march. The Nawab turned back to Monghyr, had all his treasure and baggage sent off to Patna, and started for that city himself.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Names have been spelt according to the modern system of transliteration.

On the road to Patna the Jagat Seth brothers sent word begging of me to intercede for them with Gurgin Khan. But this latter officer made me promise not to persist in pleading for them, not only because I could never be successful, but also because by such a step I would find myself involved in their disgrace, there being no possibility of getting them pardoned.

On the way the enemies of the Nawab persuaded him that Gurgin Khan was betraying him. From that moment the prince (3) vowed he would put an end to that faithful minister (4) whom calumny had painted as a traitor. Gurgin Khan was not unaware of this detestable design. I was always encamped close to this minister, and used to have my meals with him. One day when he was late in coming to dinner, the various dishes that used to be brought each day from the Nawab's camp had been laid out in front of me, and I had commenced to partake of them. Just then the minister arrived and forbade me to eat any more, saying:—"What are you doing? What! do you not know that you might be poisoned! How imprudent you are, after you have learnt what has been said about me and my brother! I have enemies. Be suspicious of every thing." He had the dishes removed forthwith, and had others served up, prepared by hands he did not distrust.

Half way between Monghyr and Patna, an attempt was made to assassinate him; but as I had my bed placed in front of his tent and by the side of the sentinel, in the open air, solely on account of the great heat, the assassins, thinking their design had been discovered, postponed its execution till the following day.

Next day, a day on which the army had marched arriving later than usual in consequence of the bad roads, the minister had dinner served up immediately. After our meal, the heat being excessive, he said to me:—"Let us go to my Bakhshi's (5) tent; perhaps it will be cooler there". When he arrived there, not finding it any more comfortable, he decided to go back again to his own quarters. As he was passing through the camp of his Mughal cavalry, when he was in the midst of the horses, a trooper approached and asked him for some money, complaining that, in spite of his pay which he had just received, he had not enough to live upon, having regard to the dearness of provisions. Gurgin Khan, incensed at the demand, called one of his attendants in a loud voice. The trooper withdrew. When he had been talking of other matters, overcome by the heat and anxious to get under shelter, I left him. I had hardly gone thirty steps when I heard shouts for help from three men who had remained with the minister. Turning round at once I saw the same trooper striking Gurgin Khan with his sword. The men with him were without arms, and dressed in muslin, as was the minister himself. No assistance could be rendered as three strokes had been inflicted as quick as

(3) Gentil refers to Qasim 'Ali Khan sometimes as the Prince, and sometimes as the Nawab.

(4) Gurgin Khan is always described as the "minister" (*Ministre*) indicating how largely administrative were his functions.

(5) The *Bakhshi* was the Paymaster-General.

lightning; the first cut nearly half way through his neck, the second cleft his shoulder-bone, and the third cut open his loins. The assassin struck him again in the face when he fell down, tripped up by the long tethering ropes of the horses, over which he had sought to pass to reach his tent, fifty paces away. As he was dressed in muslin, the force with which the sword cut can be imagined. The trooper had scarcely struck him when he disappeared. Running up I helped to place the minister in his palanquin, and had him carried to his tent. As he made a sign that he wanted a drink, he was given some water, but it came out again through the wound in his neck.

Seeing me by his side Gurgin Khan fixed his gaze upon me, and made a sign with his hand, being not longer able to speak, striking his thigh with it three times, giving me to understand that he had been the victim of calumny, and that I should be very careful about myself.

While the friends and servants of the minister were tending him with all care, the Mughal trooper, joined by his comrades, threatened to come and massacre the Armenians who were attached to Gurgin Khan's service. Warned by his secretary (who came and snatched me from the arms of my dying friend) of the danger we were exposed to, I insisted on the Armenian commanders, who ran the same risks, placing strong guards at the four corners of the tent in which the minister was being tended. They had scarcely followed my advice when the Mughals trained a piece of cannon upon the tent where all were mourning the deplorable end of Gurgin Khan. The Armenians having discovered this, I made them forestall the gunner, who was on the point of putting a light to the gun, by shooting him. This they did: the gunner was killed, and the terrified Mughals dispersed and did not show themselves again. Mounting a horse as soon as ever my unfortunate friend had breathed his last, I rode straight to the Nawab's camp, where all were under arms. Each of the commanders was coming up with his troop from the direction of Gurgin's camp, which was beyond the Nawab's rear-guard. A report was being spread at this time that the English had just attacked the minister's camp. At this rumour the troops were assembling without any proper order between the two camps, when Qasim 'Ali Khan came up seated on his elephant, just as I arrived from my side. As soon as the Nawab saw me, he called me up and asked me what had happened. I related briefly the sad and painful spectacle I had just witnessed. The prince appeared affected thereat, and said:—"I had particularly told him never to go about by himself." Then, turning round towards some commanders who accompanied him, he said: "You have just heard what had happened; go back to your tents; *Kaire salla* (6) all goes well". These last words, uttered in a tone of satisfaction, recalled to my mind the just apprehensions of the minister as to the fate that was being prepared for him by jealousy and slander. Overcome by the horrible blow that had deprived me of a friend and of all my hopes, I returned to the Nawab's camp.

(6) i.e., خير حال

My situation was critical. A friend, a bosom friend of Gurgin Khan, whom I had never left since I had first come to know him, I had just seen him perish under my very eyes without being able to save him. I had escaped myself, I know not how, from the hands of the assassins. In a state of painful uncertainty of mind I went straight to the tent of a Mughal friend of mine, Sa'id-ulla Khan, brother of Mehdi 'Ali Khan (7), the governor of Patna already mentioned. He received me with all courtesy. It was then 6 P M. I told him what had just taken place in a manner that showed my indignation and sympathy with the deceased. The Mughal replied: "Our friend Gurgin Khan had enemies who had defamed him to such an extent that the prince, convinced by all that was told him, may have been incited to this extreme course. I would not like, however, to be certain as to this; but all that I have heard said makes me think that it is quite possible. It is pretended that he was a traitor to the Nawab, that the English were in league with him, and this was why they kept his brother Khwaja Petrus in their camp". "What a shocking calumny", I replied, "I have been privy to the most secret acts of Gurgin Khan, and I never observed the slightest infidelity on his part. The English had proposals made him to leave the Nawab, assuring him that by this step he could save the life of his brother, whom they were carrying as a prisoner in their camp. What was his answer? It was this: 'I have pledged my faith to Qasim 'Ali Khan; I shall not abandon him while life is in me. I grieve at the lot of my brother; but I could not stoop to better it by a base act. I can make no proposal that would be contrary to the interests of the prince, the master of my destiny, as the English are of that of my brother. I leave all in the hands of Providence.'"

Never was calumny so horribly concocted. How pitiable are human beings when their passions are so inflamed by venom as to blind them! Gurgin Khan was far from deserving such a dreadful fate. Not only did Qasim 'Ali Khan owe in part to him the great fortune he had attained, but also the general order that had been introduced in the system of government. Nothing escaped his unremitting vigilance over all branches of the administration. Just, generous, prudent, energetic, of unassailable integrity, he was incessantly busied with every thing that could benefit his master or his subjects. The greatest simplicity reigned in his habits, in his equipage, his table and all that pertained to his home. Everything about him disclosed the merits, the goodness and the disinterestendness of the man. In justice I owe him this, and I render it him with the profoundest satisfaction, as a substitute for the flowers that I would like to have been able to lay every day upon his grave.

The illustrations of justice, of generosity and of strict integrity, that I could relate of this minister would help to make his character better known. But, however, strong be my feelings of affections and gratitude towards him, any description that I might give would be inadequate.

(7, Mir Mehdi Khan of the *Siyar-ul-mutakharin* who was appointed to succeed Naubat Ray as Naib at Patna early in 1763.

APPENDIX.

We subjoin the summary as it appeared in the *Statesman* of February 15 :—

Gorgin Khan or Gregory Khan the Armenian was born in Isfahan. Before entering into the service of Mir Kasim Khan he was a cloth seller. His wisdom, intelligence and equipment in the arts of war led him to become the general of Mir Kasim Khan. The sharp-minded general used to manufacture different kinds of guns and cannons. When the Nawab changed his capital city from Murshidabad to Monghyr, Gorgin Khan opened a gun and cannon manufacturing factory there. The praise of the beauties and special qualities of the guns of Monghyr which is still on the tongue of the people is due to the same Armenian general who was then a little more than thirty years old.

After the defeat of Udwanala in August, 1763, Mir Kasim came to Monghyr, but the pursuit of the English army did not allow him to remain there and he was obliged to leave Monghyr for Patna. Just one day after his departure, his army reached the stream of Ruhva where such a great tragedy took place that every soldier of the army was terrified and perplexed and anxious to cross the stream as soon as possible. The cause of their fear was that they saw some persons carrying away a dead body to the burial place. On enquiry they came to know that this was the corpse of their Armenian General Gorgin Khan. When this news was carried to Mir Kasim, his face expressed signs of happiness.

It is narrated that three or four Mughals entered his tent and put some mischievous claims before him. When the general wished to put them out they took out their swords and murdered him. But on this point the historian remarks that surely they must have been directed by the Nawab as they were sent nine days before this event to associate with the general. He gives the following reason for this tragedy.

Khwaja Patroos, the brother of Gorgin Khan, was on terms of friendship with Warren Hastings and Vansittart at Calcutta. Khwaja Patroos held secret communication with his brother Gorgin Khan, directing him to leave the service of the Nawab and, if possible, to arrest and hand him over to the English army. The head of the spies of Mir Kasim came to know about the communication and the Nawab was awakened from sleep at one o'clock in the night and informed about the evil and treacherous desire of his general. Within twenty-four hours after this information, the Armenian General Gorgin Khan, who was one of the greatest commanders of his age, was lying dead.

Was the Calcutta "Black Hole" A Myth?

SOME CONTEMPORARY ARMENIAN EVIDENCE.

THAT the tragedy of the "Black Hole" was not a myth, or the product of the imagination of the much-maligned John Zephaniah Holwell, is established (apart from other evidence) by the testimony of two independent contemporary Armenians.

A well-known Armenian merchant of Calcutta, Joseph Emin, writing in 1757 to his son in London, makes mention of the sack of Calcutta by Nawab Suraj-ud-Dowlah in the following terms:

The wicked Suraj-ud-Dowlah came with a vast army, destroyed almost 400 (1) innocent English gentlemen in one night in the Black Hole. Calcutta was overset by him: for my share, I have lost 16,000 rupees, and all the Armenians in proportion; we are all become as poor as you were when you went from this place. I have written to Mr. Davis to pay you the 500 rupees deposited in his hands.

The glorious English army came with the fleet, re-took Calcutta, destroyed Chandernagore, and drove the Musalman Army to the bosom of their prophet Mahomed, and I am in hopes that the whole kingdom, in a dozen years time, will be subdued under the blessed mild government of the English, which you used to prophecy, when you were here. Walk in the way of God, and be happy, without fear; put your trust in Him. Who knows, but He may one day or other set your countrymen free from the slavery of the unmerciful Mahomedians.

Another Armenian merchant, Thomas Khojamall (2), in his "History of India," written in classical Armenian at Allahabad, in 1768, refers to the memorable events in Bengal during and after the sack of Calcutta, as follows:

After this, the army of Suraj-ud-Dowlah suddenly attacked the city of Calcutta, and as there was no military fortress there but only a small fort, surrounded by a wall, in which was the house of the governor and all the goods of the merchants, the troops of Suraj-ud-Dowlah surrounded the place, as there were not sufficient Christian [English] soldiers in the fort, in all not more than four hundred. And all the Christian merchants, 150 of whom were of our Armenian nation,—all

(1) Mr. Emin gives the number of the unfortunate victims in the "Black Hole" as 400. This is a glaring error and must have been occurred at the time of the printing of the "Life and Adventures of Emin Joseph Emin, an Armenian, written in English by himself." (London, 1792). I am inclined to think that an extra zero was added to the original figure by the printer or the over-zealous proof-reader.

(2) Thomas Khojamall, a well-known Armenian merchant in India in the second half of the 18th century, died at Delhi on the 21st October 1780. His body was brought to Agra and buried in the old Armenian Cemetery where his grave can be seen to this day with a slab bearing an inscription in ancient Armenian.

great and wealthy merchants—together with many others, that is, Greeks, Syrians and Portuguese, being unable to hide their goods owing to the sudden arrival of Suraj-ud-Dowlah, left their houses full of merchandise and fleeing took refuge in the Fort. Then the army of the enemy began to pillage the city of Calcutta. The Christians [English] inside the Fort seeing there was no possible help for them from any where, nor was there any chance of escape, became hopeless, and having opened the small gate that was on the river Ganges [Hooghly], they all fled to the ships and having cut the ropes of the anchors, went southwards.

Then Suraj-ud-Dowlah looted the Fort which was full of goods and treasure, and having caught many of the Christian [English] soldiers who were unable to escape, threw them into a small prison, where, for want of sufficient space, they were heaped one over the other by the cruel soldiers of Suraj-ud-Dowlah by his order. Of these more than fifteen soldiers died in one night. After conquering the city and plundering all wealth that was there, he stayed there for twenty-five days and named the city Alinagar.

It will be observed that Thomas Khojamall, who was a well-informed historian, says the number of the victims were "more than fifteen soldiers," (shall we say 20?) as compared with the 123 of Holwell's narrative, which may well have been exaggerated for obvious reasons.

Be that as it may, it is quite evident from the unimpeachable testimony of these two unbiassed Armenian merchants of the period (one of whom was a well-known citizen of Calcutta) that the "gigantic hoax" of Holwell was a solid historical fact.

MESROVB J. SETH.

William Larkins.

IN Vol. XIX of *Bengal Past and Present* was reproduced (as frontispiece) a miniature portrait of William Larkins, Accountant-General at Calcutta from 1777 to 1793. No letterpress accompanied the picture; and so it may be well to note that the photograph from which the reproduction was made was supplied by Mrs. Mayo, to whom the miniature belonged. She was the daughter of Vice-Admiral G. S. Reynolds, and great-granddaughter of William Larkins. She married in 1883 Mr. John Florsley Mayo, who had entered the East India Company's home service in 1855 and was Assistant Military Secretary at the India Office from 1882 to 1895. He was the author of a well known book on *Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy* (1897).

Mrs. Mayo died on November 3, 1924, and in her will bequeathed the miniature to the India Office. It has now been hung in the Council Room there, close to Romney's portrait of Warren Hastings, which (together with a portrait of Lord Cornwallis in the same room) was left to the East India Company by William Larkins.

The miniature is signed "Hill, 1786." Bénézet's *Dictionnaire des Peintres* (1913) gives two miniature painters of that period named Hill, namely, J. Hill, who exhibited at the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy from 1775 to 1791, and Diana Hill, who showed three paintings at the Royal Academy in 1785. I can find no evidence that J. Hill ever went to India; but in the Court Minutes for September 21, 1785 there is an entry that permission was given to Mrs. Diana Hill to proceed to Bengal to practise as a portrait painter, and three months later her securities were approved. I conclude therefore that the portrait of Larkins was painted by her. On November 15, 1788 Diana Hill, widow, was married at Calcutta to Captain Thomas Herriott; but I have failed to trace any further particulars concerning her.

Larkins was born in September, 1755, the son of William Larkins of Poplar and Christian his wife. He went out to Calcutta as a writer in 1772; became (as already stated) Accountant-General in July, 1777, and held the post till March, 1793. He returned to England in the *Earl Talbot* that same year, and settled at Blackheath, where he died on April 24, 1800. He was a close friend of Warren Hastings, and after the latter's departure managed his money affairs in India for him. Larkins married Mary Harris on February 7, 1776, and had a family of one son (Warren Hastings, who died in Calcutta in 1788 at the age of four) and four daughters, one of whom was named Marion and another Apollonia Charlotte Ann, probably after Mrs. Hastings, whose Christian names were Anne Maria Apollonia and who was always "Marian" to her husband. The names seem to have been repeated in the Larkins family, for Mrs. Mayo was christened Apollonia Anne.

W. F.

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.
VOL. XXIX.



WILLIAM FARKINS.
From a Miniature painted by Daniell Hall in 1786:
Now at the India Office.

Our Library Table.

Index to the Press Lists of the Public Department Records of the Government of India : 1748—1800. (Government of India Press 1924. Rupees Thirty Two and Annas twelve).

The Press lists from 1748 to 1800, to which this index refers, have been published in twenty volumes aggregating 750' pages and embodying more than 50,000 documents. They relate to the Public Department which was the first Secretariat of the East India Company and from which all the other Departments have been derived. The information with which they abound is of an unusually comprehensive character: for the Public Department dealt with political, administrative, judicial, revenue, shipping, commercial and legal matters. By the preparation of this Index Mr. Abdul Ali, the Keeper of the Imperial Records, has placed students under a deep obligation for he relieves them of the drudgery of searching through the twenty volumes for any particular item. Henceforth, it will merely be necessary to draw up a list of the papers which it is desired to inspect or copy: and present it to Mr. Abdul Ali or his capable Superintendent, Mr. Bose. An examination of the Index reveals a wealth of material. Familiar names meet the eye upon almost every page. If we turn up, for example "Hickey W," we learn that, if we ask for volume 9, of the Press lists, we shall find that he acted as Company's attorney, as indeed he did in 1779 in the cause célèbre of John Doe on the demise of Gocool Gosaul versus Colonel Henry Watson, which arose over the dockyard undertaking at Kidderpore and of which a full account is presented in the second volume of his Memoirs. There are two and a half columns relating to "Post and Postage" with subheadings. Lists are provided of Town Majors, Adjutant-Generals, Buxeyes, Mayors, Sheriffs and Advocate Generals. Under each district the names are supplied of Collectors, Judges, and Magistrates. Grand will be found as Collector of Tirhoct in 1782 and "Bob" Pott as Resident at the Burdwan Factory in 1734, but the papers would seem to be wanting, which should tell of Pott's transfer a few months later to Moorshedabad in place of Sir John D'Oyly, whom he bought out for three lakhs of rupees. Glimpses can be caught of many famous Bengalee families: the Setts and the Bysacks, who followed Charnock to Suttanuttee, the three celebrated Ghoses, Boloram, Baranosee, and Hari, the Tagores and Mullicks, and the great Sobhabazar house which owes its origin to Maharajah Nubkissen. Forgotten aurungs or outposts such as Bamni Is'and in the Noakhali district, and Dhaniakhali in the Hocghly district and vanished offices, such as the *jachandar*, or appraisers, combine with the strange names of picce-goods, such as *chittabullies* (flowered cloth) *terindams* (soft muslin) and *doreas* (striped fabrics) to arrest the attention. We even come across etymological mysteries which have escaped the indefatigable compilers of *Hobson Jobson* such as "Matway, a kind of boat," and can

delight ourselves with corruptions such as "gcandery conners" which, being interpreted, are melting houses (*gudas khana*). Altogether, it is safe to say that no one can in future attempt a history of the English in India in the eighteenth century without placing a copy of the book at his side.

A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company: Volume VII, 1664-1667: by Ethel Bruce Sainsbury: with an Introduction and Notes by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. (Clarendon Press, Oxford: Twenty-one Shillings net.)

With this volume Miss Sainsbury completes her useful series of the Court Minutes of the East India Company which began with the year 1637. Sir William Foster's introduction and notes are as thorough and illuminating as usual. Much of the matter is naturally concerned with buying and selling and business routine: for the Company in those days had no thought of territorial acquisitions. Their one aim was to keep upon good terms with the "Country Powers" and to develop their trade without molestation. Dividends were high. On August 3, 1664, the Committees (or Directors) resolved to distribute 40 per cent. of which 10 per cent. was payable on September 30, and thirty per cent. at the end of the following July. A dividend of 20 per cent. had already been declared in 1661, and another of 40 per cent. in 1663, so that the fortunate subscribers obtained a return of their capital in full. The shadow of the Great Plague falls across the records at the beginning of July 1665. The quorum at Court meetings was reduced to five: and the staff were dispensed from attendance on more than three days a week. Throughout September October and November the business was practically carried on by three of the Committees only, who were later on voted a gratuity of £100 each. In 1666 London was visited by the Great Fire, which did not actually reach the India House. The Company's goods and treasure and books were, however, removed to Stepney for safety and later on lodged in the cellar under the Royal Exchange. For some time the Committee-men took it in turns to sit up all night at the India House: and the ledgers tell us that the expenditure caused by the Fire amounted to close upon £750. Fresh excitement was caused in January 1667 by the news that Sir Edward Winter had seized the person of George Foxcroft who had been sent out to Fort Saint George as agent, and had usurped the Government. Winter justified his action on the ground that Foxcroft had been guilty of treasonable utterances against the King: and the matter was referred to the Privy Council which ordered Winter to return home and authorized Foxcroft to remain at Madras, pending an examination into the charge against him. A few references to Bengal may be found. In 1665 the *Dorcas* was sent from England direct to Balasore, this being the first occasion upon which a ship went to Bengal without touching at the Coromandel coast. There are entries also relating to Hugli and Cossimbazar.

Correspondance du Conseil de Pondichéry et de la Compagnie : publiée avec introduction par Alfred Martineau: Tome IV, 1744-1749.
(Pondichéry, Société de l'Inde française : Paris, Editions Leroux, 28 Rue Bonaparte : Twenty Francs)

The present volume is the fourth of a valuable and interesting series which M. Alfred Martineau is editing. In the three earlier volumes are to be found, with occasional gaps owing to the loss of documents, the letters of the Conseil Supérieur at Pondichéry from October 8, 1727, to October 20, 1742, and the French Company's letters from December 28, 1726, to November 25, 1741. The period now covered extends from October 18, 1744 to January 10, 1749. There is however only one letter from the Company, and that a very brief one of June 30, 1748 : a circumstance due to the war with the British which broke out in 1744 and was not concluded until the signature of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle on April 30, 1748. Of peculiar interest in this collection are the letters of October 22 and 25, and November 1, 1746, and of January 31 and February 6, 1747, in which the Council give an account of the capture of Madras by La Bourdonnais. In Bengal the settlement at Chandernagore lived in a condition of perpetual insecurity on account of the annual incursions of the Mahrattas. The neutrality of the river Hooghly had been declared by the Nawab at Moorshedabad, but the command of the Bay of Bengal lay with the British, and such irregular and unimportant commercial transactions as were possible were carried on in Armenian, Portuguese, Dutch, and "Moor" vessels. The French *comptoir* at Balasore was evacuated in 1744 : and the functionaries at Cossimbazar were left with nothing to do except to keep their flag flying. Patna was equally languishing : trade was at a standstill there also and the factors were reduced to selling a portion of their stock in order to provide themselves with ready money.

Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde française : Tome II, Pondichéry, 1789-1815 : publié avec une introduction par Edmond Gaudart, Gouverneur en retraite. (Pondichéry, Bibliothèque Coloniale, Rue des Capucins : Paris, Editions Leroux, 28 Rue Bonaparte : Twenty Francs or Rupees Six).

This is another of the important serial publications of the Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde française. In the first volume M. Edmond Gaudart catalogued the Pondichéry archives from 1681 to 1788 : in the present volume he deals with the period between 1789 and 1815. It is a period of more than ordinary interest. Pondichéry was captured by the British on August 24, 1793, and was not restored until the Peace of Amiens. The French Revolution produced what M. Gaudart terms "scenes of demagoguery" in the French settlements and particularly in Chandernagore. We are promised in a third volume the documents relating to this and other subordinate *comptoirs* such as Dacca, Patna, Jugdeea, and Balasore. But there are many reports from Chandernagore, and

in particular a detailed note on Bengal of 115 pages drawn up by M. Yvon, "aide-major général de l'armée du Roi dans l'Inde," and dated July 20, 1789, which was summarized by M. Bardet in an article entitled "Chandernagore in 1789" in the *Revue Historique de l'Inde française* in 1920 (Vol. 4, Part II, p. 57). The climax was not, however, reached until 1792 when a mob, headed by a bankrupt lawyer, pursued the Governor, de Montigny, to Ghiretty and brought him back to the settlement in triumph. The Governor appealed to the Council at Fort William which promptly occupied the town in June 1793 and did not relinquish possession until December 1816. The course of events at Pondichéry was more tranquil, thanks to the influence exercised by the Governor, the Chevalier de Fresne. Numerous letters from Tippoo are catalogued and also reports to the Minister of Marine in Paris on the progress of the first campaign against him which ended in the Treaty of March 16, 1792.

An Account of The Campaign in Mysore, 1799: by Sir Alexander Allan, Bart, Edited by Nares Chandra Sinha, M.A., B.L. (University Printing and Publishing Company, Calcutta: Rupees Two.)

Major Alexander Allan acted as Deputy Quartermaster General with the Madras and Bengal troops which took the field against Tippoo Sultan in 1799. He had served also in the previous campaign, and his "Twenty Views of Mysore," which were published in 1794, are well known. But his account of the final operations before Seringapatam has not been hitherto been accessible to the general public. The original manuscript has been for many years in the Imperial Library at Calcutta and has now been transcribed by Mr. Nares Chandra Sinha, to whom the thanks of historical students are due. Allan played an important part in the events which he describes. On the fall of Seringapatam, he was deputed to proceed to the palace, with a flag of truce (which he fastened on a serjeant's pike), and obtain the unconditional surrender of the inmates who were still holding out. After some discussion the two Princes, who were found in the enclosure, were persuaded to meet General Baird at the gate, and were then conducted to the British headquarters. Search was next made for Tippoo. The Killadar (Commandant) informed Allan "in the most solemn manner" that the Sultan had been wounded and was lying in a gateway on the north face of the fort. The search was resumed at this place, and hundreds of dead bodies were dragged out and examined without success. Finally, Rajah Cawn, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants, was discovered lying wounded under the Royal palanquin, and with his help the Sultan's body was identified. "He had four wounds: three in the body, and one in the temple, and was dead when he was found." Allan thus describes Tippoo. "He was of low stature, with high shoulders and a short thick neck: but his hands and feet were remarkably small: his complexion was rather dark, his eyes large and prominent with small eyebrows, and his nose aquiline."



ZOFFANY'S "LAST SUPPER":
THE PICTURE IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.



The Editor's Note Book.

THERE have been many speculations regarding the identity of the individual pilloried as Judas Iscariot in the famous picture of "The Last Supper" by Zoffany, which hangs in St. John's Church. We have in St. John's Church. shown in a recent number (Vol XXVIII, p. 71) that there is no substance in the conjecture that the person represented is James Paull, "a certain resident at the Court of Lucknow who had made himself particularly disagreeable both to the Nawab of Oudh and the painter": for Zoffany left India in an Italian ship in 1789, and Paull did not arrive in the country until 1791. The most plausible supposition attributes the original to William Tulloh, a well known Calcutta auctioneer of the period: and it is said that he sued the artist for damages. But a careful search of the records of the Supreme Court for 1786 and 1787 and subsequent years have failed to reveal traces of any action at law between Tulloh and Zoffany.

THAT the portrait is taken from life admits of little dispute. There was nothing unusual in the conduct of Zoffany in thus using his pencil to gratify private dislike. Exactly the same course was taken by him when painting the other picture of "The Last Supper", which may be seen in Brentford Church near London. According to Dr. G. C. Williamson ("The Life and Work of John Zoffany, R. A."). he had a furious quarrel with an attorney in Kew over the draft for his will, and forthwith used his features for the figure of Judas Iscariot, "thereby setting the people of Kew against him, for the man was respected in the place and was in high office in connexion with the Church". We have it upon record also that he greatly scandalized George the Third, who had nominated him as an original member of the Royal Academy in 1768, by painting a picture in 1774 entitled "The Life School", in which he introduced a portrait of Queen Charlotte, as she was when Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and another of a supposed admirer of hers. Thirty years later he again incurred the King's displeasure, and for the same reason: as may be seen from the following entry in the Farington Diary:

December 14th, 1804.—The King spoke of Zoffany's picture of the *Florentine Gallery* painted for Him, and expressed wonder at Zoffany having done so improper a thing as to introduce the portraits of Sir Horace Man, Patch and others. He said the Queen would not suffer the picture to be placed in any of her apartments.

ZOFFANY, however, was by no means singular in this peculiarity. Hogarth freely represented personalities of his day in his "Harlot's Progress" and "Rake's Progress", (the latter of which is one of the principal treasures of the Solomon Museum in

Lincoln's Inn Fields): and it is an historical fact that Michael Angelo revenged himself in the same way on the master of the ceremonies at the Vatican by including him among the damned souls in the picture of Hell which he painted for the Pope's private chapel. A similar form of pictorial libel used to hang in a church in Moscow in days before the Bolsheviks "abolished" religion. This was likewise a picture of Hell, in which the central figure was Count Leo Tolstoy, surrounded by a ring of demons who are tormenting him in various ways. The story goes also that Dante Gabriel Rossetti once painted an oriental scene in which a flogging was being administered to a slave, who was none other than a prominent art dealer with whom he had quarrelled. In this case, however, the picture was subsequently altered.

A CURIOUS tale of Zoffany at Lucknow is told in an article which was published in the *Pioneer* on January 23, 1918. Zoffany and the Nawab. Zoffany, it appears, drew or painted a caricature of the Nawab Wazir (Asaf-ud-daula) and showed it to his friend General Claude Martin. Others also saw it and reported the matter to the Nawab, who determined to have a look at the picture himself. Colonel John Mordaunt, of the "Cock Match", who was a *persona grata* at the Court, heard of the intention and sent for Zoffany. The artist at once set to work: and after sitting up all night, succeeded in so transforming the caricature that when the Nawab had it shown to him, he declared it to be quite a flattering likeness, and presented Zoffany with Rs. 10,000.

THE following note, which we have received from Mr. J. J. Cotton, Thomas Hickey as an I.C.S., furnishes an interesting pendant to the article Italian scholar. which we recently published on "Thomas Hickey, Portrait Painter" (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 142-165):

There is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a copy of Thomas Hickey's History of Ancient Painting and Sculpture, in Italian and English. The full title is "Storia/ della/ Pittura e la Scultura Antica/ Scritta in Italiano ed Inglese/ da Tommaso Icchi:/ Parte Prima:/ continuato/ Fin' all' Olimpiade ottantesima terza./ The/ History/ of/ Ancient Painting and Sculpture/ Written in Italian and English/ by Thomas Hickey./ Part the First:/ Continued/ to the Eighty Third Olympiad./ Calcutta./ From the Press of Stuart and Cooper./ MDCCCLXXVIII:" The book is dedicated to the Rt. Hon'ble Charles Marquis Cornwallis, August the 12th, 1788.

According to the preface, the work was suggested by the leisure of a slow Indian voyage, and was then reserved for some future time. "But the intense heat which for a certain portion of the year almost suspends every other occupation but that of writing, concurred to revive the thought, and the polite and liberal access afforded by distinguished

gentlemen here with an unexpected supply from their valuable libraries enabled him to present this little specimen of his labours to the public inspection."

The Italian of "Icchi" is admirable, and his erudition great. The introduction refers to Pliny's Natural History, Vasari, Borghini, Carducho (in Spanish), Carlo Dati, Felebien, Herodotus, Plutarch, Pausanias, Lucian. One is inclined to think that he may have used Sir William Jones's library. The first fifty pages deal with ancient sculpture, and the next twelve are appropriated to a life of Phidias the Athenian. Then follows a two-page chronological table (in English only) illustrating the history of ancient painting and sculpture: and, lastly, thirty-two pages are given to a life of Zeuxis.

Inserted in the volume is an autograph letter to Colonel Murray: "Dear Sir: I take the liberty of presenting to the perusal of your leisure a portion of a work from which I shall be highly flattered if you derive any entertainment. I am dear Sir, your faithful and obliged Thomas Hickey, 8th September." The seal T. H. in red wax may still be seen on the letter. Colonel Peter Murray is mentioned in Thomas Twining's "Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago" (p. 91) as "an agreeable gentlemanly man, Adjutant-General of the Company's troops" and "brother of Sir John Murray, one of my best Calcutta friends." Twining met him in 1794, when he was travelling up the river to Delhi on the staff of Sir Robert Abercromby, the Commander-in-chief.

The book is bound in red morocco: and an inscription records that it was bought at the Gibson Craig sale in June, 1887.

MR. COTTON also writes: When William Hickey returned to London in 1780, one of his first commissions was to deliver a parcel to Mrs. Greer, wife of the Chief Officer of the *Nassau*. This lady was Harriet D'Oyly, the sister of Warren Hastings' friend Sir John Hadley D'Oyly. She was, says Hickey, "an uncommonly fine woman, with three beautiful daughters." Of these the eldest, Harriet, married Lieut. Frederick Maitland Arnett, Hickey's old shipmate on the *Seahorse* in 1777 (who died at Calcutta in September, 1807): the second, Charlotte, married Robert Conyngham of Milncraig: and the youngest, Marian, was the first wife of Sir Charles D'Oyly the seventh baronet. Chinnery painted a portrait of Charlotte Conyngham, and Romney one of her father William Greer of Keyhaven Hants, "who commanded a 28 gun frigate the *Belvedere*." These pictures together with other family portraits were catalogued for sale at Christie's on December 16, 1921, by order of Sir Hastings Hadley D'Oyly, the present baronet. Included in the list were portraits of Warren Hastings by John Simpson (in a blue coat with a turn-down collar and white stock: size 28 1/2 inches by 24 1/2 inches), of Mrs. Greer by R. Brompton, and of

George Baring, the fifth son of Sir Francis Baring, and his wife Harriet Rochfort D'Oyly, daughter of the sixth baronet, by Robert Home. There was also a portrait by Hoppner of "Dr. Crawford, tutor to Sir John D'Oyly, 1764," and pictures by an unnamed artist of "Moorshedabad, Bengal" and "the Court House at Moorshedabad" (the Mobaruck Munzil). Sir William Foster, from whom enquiries have been made regarding the portrait of Hastings, reports that the authorship was attributed by Sir Hastings D'Oyly to Sir William Beechey, but that Messrs. Christie ascribed it to Simpson (an assistant to Sir Thomas Lawrence) "as the latter's mark was on the back of the frame." The Romney fetched 390 guineas, the Chinney 115 guineas, and the reputed Simpson 100 guineas. All were apparently bought by dealers.

THE Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum possesses a portrait in oils by Tilly Kettle of Muhammad Ali Walajah, the Nawab of the Carnatic, who is represented full length and standing. The picture is signed and was presented by Miss Sullivan, a niece of Lord Palmerston. Can this be the painting referred to by Joseph Farington in his Diary on April 14, 1797, when he records that "Mr. Hastings paid 1000 guineas to Kettle for a picture of a Nabob which was sold at Christie's on Monday for 7 guineas." The identification appears to be more probable than the one suggested on page 45 of the first part of this volume.

SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, whom we have to thank for the preceding note, informs us further that the copy or replica of the portrait of Warren Hastings by Kettle which was offered for sale at Christie's in 1921 and bought in at six guineas, has been acquired by the East India United Service Club for £50. The original is in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (*ante*, p. 48).

THE following note has also been received from Sir William Foster:

Tassie's cameos of Captain D. M. Anderson has given to me a copy of Warren Hastings. a letter addressed on January 2, 1819, by William Tassie, the celebrated modeller, to his ancestor, David Anderson, the devoted friend of Warren Hastings. It runs as follows:

"By the desire of Mrs. Hastings I have to request the favour that you will send me the size for a ring of the late Right Hon'ble Warren Hastings, a paste cameo of whose portrait I have just completed from the bust in the possession of Sir Charles Imhoff. I have, etc. P. S. If the size is in paper or thread, the two ends should just meet."

Evidently Mrs. Hastings, after her husband's death, gave Tassie an order for a number of mourning rings, to be distributed among the more immediate friends of the deceased: and for this purpose Tassie modelled one of his well-known small portrait medallions, showing the head and neck in profile, casting it in the white enamel paste used for the same purpose by his uncle, James

Tassie, whose business he had inherited. One of these cameo-like casts, presented by Sir George Birdwood, is now exhibited in the reading-room of the India Office Library, mounted on red cloth and enclosed in a circular frame of black and gold. Capt. Anderson tells me that the specimen presented to his ancestor was made into a tie-pin, and is still preserved. Another specimen which had belonged to Mr. A. A. Webb, mounted in an ebonised frame, was sold at Christie's in April, 1914, and fetched four and a half guineas.

A SIMILAR medallion (bequeathed by Miss Winter) may be seen in the Hastings Room at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The following inscription is written opposite the picture: "Portrait from a Bust of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings given to Lady Imhoff by John Wilton, Esqre." Lady Imhoff was the wife of Sir Charles Imhoff, the elder stepson of Hastings, and daughter of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart. (who died at Pulta in September 29, 1832 at the age of 72). Wilton (a Civil Servant) was the brother of Lady Chambers, and served the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in 1789. Like Hastings, Impey, and William Hickey, he was an old Westminster.

SEVERAL references have been made in recent volumes of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV. p. 111: Vol. XXVI. pp. 83, 201) to "Pott's Folly" at Culpee. a small masonry building resembling a tomb, on the river side at Culpee, which goes locally by the name of Mano Bibir Char, and which we have endeavoured to identify as "Pott's Folly" or the monument which, according to William Hickey, was erected by Tiretta, under the instructions of Robert Pott, in memory of Emily Warren, the "Thais" of Sir Joshua Reynolds' well-known picture. A number of explanations have been offered to account for the existence of the building. To them may be added the following which is taken from a little-known "Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies and return to England, annis domini 1817 and 1818 in a merchant ship of the H. E. I. C." The book was picked up by Mr. L. S. O'Malley in an old bookshop in Norwich, and its contents were reprinted in *Bengal Past and Present* in 1916 (Vol. XIII. pp. 197-198). The author, who was a surgeon's mate of the name of Robert Huli writes:

November 5, (1817). We reached the New Anchorage about 2 p.m. Near Culpee, a village on the eastern bank, below Diamond Harbour, stands a pyramidal monument, said to be erected to the memory of the first English lady that died in this country, since so destructive to thousands. I could not inspect the edifice closely, nor ascertain the correctness of this queer story.

THE date of the death of "Bob" Pott has hitherto eluded us. Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S., has found a clue in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1798. It is there recorded

The death of "Bob Pott.

that "Edward Holden Pott, Esq. major in the Westminster regiment of the Middlesex militia" has been "found dead in his bed at Liverpool." He was in his 33rd or 34th year, "the youngest son of the late Percival Pott, Esq., the celebrated surgeon," and "his eldest brother, Robert Pott, Esq. has died lately in the East Indies." Sarah Cruttenden whom "Bob" Pott married at Berhampton on May 18, 1736 and who died at Dacca on September 18, 1807, was the daughter of Edward Holden Cruttenden, second in Council at Fort William in 1753, and was baptized at Calcutta on April 19, 1754. She must have been one of the children who were taken to Fulta by their father and mother.

THE *Englishman* of April 28, published an article by Mr. Mesroby J. Seth in which he claims for the Armenian church of Nazareth the distinction of carrying on its steeple the oldest clock in Calcutta. An inscription on the works shows that it was placed in position in 1792, since which time none of the original parts have been changed. It was ordered from England in 1789 by Aga Catchick Arakiel who died in the year following: and was made by Alexander Hare of London, whose name recalls that of another watch-maker, David Hare, who came to Calcutta in 1800, and lived there until his death in 1842. A second inscription states that the clock was repaired in 1838 by E. Gray of Calcutta and that two more dials were then added. The church stands at the entrance to Burrabazar at the corner of Khenragputty and Armenian Street. It is the oldest place of Christian worship in Calcutta, and dates from 1724: but there is a tombstone in the churchyard which takes us back still further, for it records the death on July 11, 1630, of "Rezabeebeh, the wife of the late charitable Sookeas."

MENTION is made in Henry Roberdeau's account of life in Calcutta in 1805 of a French émigré in (ante, p. 119) of "the Riding School kept by Mr. De L'Etang." The Chevalier Antoine de L'Etang was a very remarkable personality in Calcutta in those days. A Knight of the Order of Saint Louis and at one time page to Marie Antoinette and Garde du Corps to Louis XVI, he was in the Conciergerie with the queen, who gave him her miniature as a parting gift. Forced by the Revolution to leave France, he came out to Pondicherry and remained in India until his death at Buxar in 1840 at the age of 83. After an adventurous career in Southern India, he came to Calcutta in 1796, and opened a riding school on the site now occupied by the premises of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the corner of Park Street and Chowringhee. He also carried on a horse repository in Dhurruntollah (now-a-days in the hands of Messrs. Cook and Co.) and conducted weekly auction sales. The following advertisement is of frequent occurrence in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 1807: "Public Sale of Horses, Carriages, Dogs, and Cattle, of every description, by A. De L'Etang, at the Repository Riding School, Weekly, on Wednesday and Friday. On the day of the sale, Handbills are distributed



THE ARMENIAN CHURCH OF NAZARETH IN CALCUTTA

throughout Calcutta, and its vicinity, to which is added a description of Horses &c. &c. standing at the Repository for Private Sale." Opposite his grave in Buxar churchyard is a monument to his son Eugene, a cadet in the Company's service, who died in 1826, at the age of 26 when acting as sub-assistant at the Government Stud at Buxar. The Chevalier is known also to fame as the grandfather of the "beautiful Miss Patties," of whom the youngest, Countess Somers, died as recently as 1910 at the age of 84. Her grandmother, Mme. De L'Etang, died at Versailles in 1866 at the age of 98.

WHAT is the earliest mention of pig-sticking, of which Roberdeau gives so The earliest mention of animated an account? It will be found, we fancy, in pig-sticking. the Consultations of the Agent and Council at Fort Saint George for the year 1679. Streynsham Master, "Agent of the Coast and Bay" went on a tour of visitation of the various Factories in that year. He was accompanied by "Mr. Timothy Willes and Mr. Richard Mohun of the Council, the Minister, the Chyrurgeon, the Schoolmaster, the Secretary, and two Writers, an Ensign, 6 mounted Souldiers, and a Trumpeter." Besides these seventeen persons in the Company's Service, the party included "Four Freemen, who went with the Agent's Company, for their own pleasure and at their own charges." When visiting Bunder (Masulipatam) they made an expedition to the island of Dio at the mouth of the river Kistna :

In the morning wee went a hunting of wild Hoggs with Kisna Reddy, the Chief Man of the Islands, and about 100 other men of the island with lances and Three Score doggs, with whom we killed Eight Hoggs great and small, one being a Bcre large and fatt, of greate weight.

The entry, which is quoted in *Hobson Jobson*, occurs in the "Notes and Extracts from the Government Records in Fort Saint George from 1670 to 1681," which were published at Madras in 1871-1873.

A WRITER in the *Statesman* has been collating the various passages in which The "City of Palaces." Calcutta is described as a "City of Palaces." The earliest he finds in the "Letters" of Mrs. Fay, whose husband was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court in 1780. She writes :

As you come up past Fort William and the Esplanade Calcutta has a beautiful appearance. Esplanade Row, as it is called, which fronts the Fort, seems to be composed of palaces.

Next, there is James Rennell, who writes in 1783 : "The quarter inhabited by the English is composed entirely of brick buildings, many of which have more the appearance of palaces than of private houses." Lord Valentia, who visited Calcutta in 1803, found it "a veritable village of palaces." Finally the phrase "The City of Palaces" was used by Macaulay and has been traditionally ascribed to him.

EVERYONE knows the story of the eager interruption by Mr. Justice Hyde, Siccās, Siccās, Brother Impey! when Sir Elijah Impey was giving judgment in the famous case of *Grānd versus Francis*. "Siccās, Siccās, Brother Impey!" Hyde is alleged to have said, with a view of making the damages as high as possible: for sicca rupees (which carried the impress of the nineteenth year of the Emperor Shah Alam) bore to the Company's rupee (which was based on the old Farrukhabad rupee) the proportion of nearly sixteen to fifteen. Dr. Busteed discredits the story (*Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 4th edn. p. 261) which he declares to have been first promulgated in a book of "Personal Recollections" published in 1822 by John Nicholls, a member of Parliament who sat in the House with Francis after his return and had known Impey and Hyde before they went to India. It so happens, however, that there is contemporary authority for the story. William Hickey, who was in Calcutta at the time, and refused to act as attorney on either side, wrote his *Memoirs* in England between the years 1809 and 1813. He thus relates the episode (Vol. II, p. 160):

The Chief Justice entirely concurred in opinion with Mr. Justice Hyde that the evidence entitled the plaintiff to a judgment and that such judgment should be fifty thousand rupees. Mr. Hyde in a low voice said "Siccās." "Aye, siccās, brother Hyde," added the Chief. This produced a roar of mirth from the auditors, at which Sir Elijah was greatly offended.

The exact difference which "siccās" made to the amount of the damages is explained by Hyde in his Note-book: "50,000 Sicca Rupees are equal to five thousand one hundred and nine pounds, two shillings and eleven pence sterling, reckoning according to the weight and fineness of the silver." Francis' official salary as a member of Council was one lakh of rupees a year, or Rs. 8333-5-4 a month.

JURYMEN who are summoned to attend the High Court during the hot weather will be in a position to study with sympathetic interest the following extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday June 19, 1823:—

Monday, June 16, 1823.—The Court met at 10 o'clock precisely. When the Grand Jury were being sworn, it was discovered that two of them had attended in [white] jackets, when Sir Francis Macnaghten directed that they should retire and put on coats: this occasioned some delay. After they were all sworn, Sir Francis Macnaghten addressed them nearly as follows:—

"Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, I regret that anything should have taken place which should require me to utter from this Bench, what may perhaps be disagreeable to some of you. Those among you who have attended on Grand Juries before, must be aware that there is an established usage, that Gentlemen should attend in their coats, and not

in jackets and, while this custom exists, any departure from it might seem a mark of disrespect to the Court; and it therefore becomes my duty to enforce its observance. I am far from saying that there is any utility in the practice: it were perhaps more convenient that it should be done away with altogether, but until it is done away with by the proper authority, and expressly stated that it is no longer required, it is necessary for the sake and appearance of due and proper respect, that it should be observed."

SIR HENRY YULE in *Hobson Jobson* has an interesting note on the use of Dinner dress in the white jackets. The old custom in the hot weather, he writes, was to wear these jackets, but only when in the family or at bachelor parties: and he was able to remember a "white jacket dinner" at Fort William in 1849. Mr. William Crooke, the Editor of the 1903 edition, adds the following:—

The late Mr. Bridgman of Gorakhpur, whose recollections of India dated from the earlier parts of the last century, told me that in his younger days the rule at Calcutta was that the guest always arrived at his host's house in the full evening-dress of the time, on which his host meeting him at the door, expressed his regret that he had not chosen a cooler dress: whereupon the guest's bearer, as if by accident, appeared round the corner with a nankeen jacket, which was then and there put on. It would have been opposed to etiquette for the guest to appear in such a dress without express invitation.

But Berncastle in his "Voyage to China including a Visit to the Bombay Presidency" (a book in two volumes published in London in 1850), speaks of a white jacket as being "evening dress for a dinner party."

THE East Indian Railway Company are demolishing their booking office in Fairlie Place, in order to make room for a five storied block. Under the two-foot brick floor a large quantity of round shot for cannon of at least two calibres, and also bar shot have been discovered. Some of the shot weighed twenty pounds and others about five pounds. Close by the site to the east stood the north-east bastion of Old Fort William and the north river gate through which Seraj-ud-Dowlah made his entry on the evening of June 20, 1756. As the booking office was built upon ground which was then covered by the river, the conjecture is reasonable that the shot was thrown into the water when Holwell surrendered. So complete a collection of shot has, we believe, never before been found: but it is on record that not many years ago a twelve pound mortar was dug up in Garstin's Place. The buildings in the Fort were used in later years as godowns: and one of those now being pulled down which is probably among the oldest in Calcutta, goes by the name of "Barlow's godown." George Hilario Barlow whose appointment as Governor General, on the death of Lord Cornwallis in

1805, was cancelled by the home Government two years later, and who was subsequently Governor of Fort Saint George from 1807 to 1813, held the office of Custom Master in 1788.

IN November 1924 during the excavations on the site of Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie and Company's new offices in Strand Road, More relics of the past. . . part of the wall which once formed the left bank of the river was unearthed. Steps leading down to the water's edge were plainly visible, and below was the top of an arch. Cannon balls covered with rust and dirt were also discovered. Just about the same time, a masonry tunnel, twenty feet below water level, (which is supposed to have been a sally port under the Mahratta Ditch) was disclosed while digging out the foundations of the new Dum Dum Bridge on the Belgatchia Road which spans the Circular Canal. Here again two cannon were found, much rusted but otherwise in excellent condition. These guns were about ten feet long and have a bore of six inches. They may very well have been used by Seraj-ud-Dowlah in his operations against the Calcutta factory.

THE following extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1754, (for which Roger Drake and the we are indebted to Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S.,) may Foundling Hospital. fitly be inserted in this place, as recalling the name of Roger Drake, the Governor of Fort William at the time :

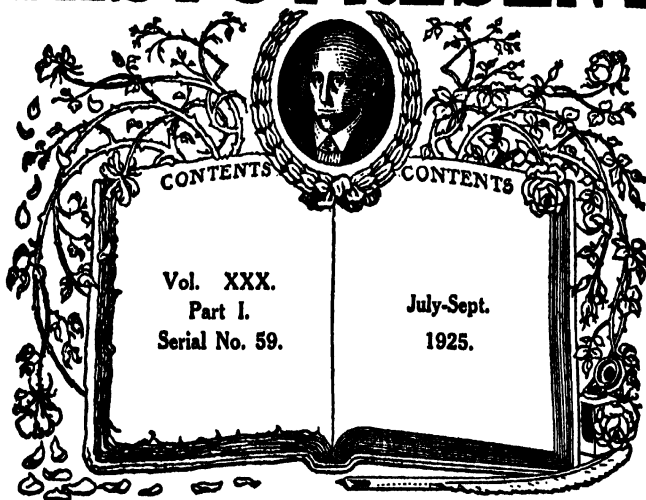
Wednesday 16, October 1754.—Roger Drake, Esq. paid 200*l* to the Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital, a benefaction from the members of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at Calcutta in the East Indies.

Omichand was also a benefactor of this famous London institution. In the Proceedings of the Board at Fort William dated March 30, 1767 we read that "Huzzoora Mull, administrator to the estate of the late Omichund, requests that he may be indulged with two sets of bills on the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for Rs. 1500 each, one payable to the Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital, and one for the same given to the Magdalen. Ordered that they may be granted to him."

MR. L. ALEXANDER DUFF writes from Chota Manshai House, Purnea : I John Hannay. have lately had an opportunity of reading Mr. H. Bruce Hannah's article on "Alexander and John Hannay" in Vol. XXIV of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 162-165). Mr. Hannah is in error in supposing that John Hannay's career in Bengal ended in 1788. He succeeded Shearman Bird, Senior, as Judge and Magistrate of Purnea in August 1794, and died there on September 19, 1795, at the age of fifty. He was buried in the cemetery attached to the Anglican church, and the grave is still extant and in good preservation. The text of the inscription is given in an article on "Some Old Burial Grounds," which appeared in Vol. XII of *Bengal Past and Present*.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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WILLIAM HODGES, R.A.
From the Engraving by William Daniell, R.A.
of a Drawing by George Dance, R.A.

William Hodges, R. A., in India.

FROM the notice of William Hodges given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* we learn that he was born in London (1744) in very humble circumstances. He was the only child of a smith, who kept a small shop in St. James's Market (the site of which is now covered by the Criterion Restaurant, the contiguous part of Lower Regent Street, and the houses to the west of this, between Jermyn Street and Piccadilly Circus). The boy managed to acquire some knowledge of drawing while employed to run errands for Shipley's drawing school, in the Strand; and, his ability having been noticed by Richard Wilson, R.A., that artist took him as a pupil and assistant. After leaving Wilson, Hodges spent some time, first in London and then at Derby, where he did some scene-painting for the local theatre. He had now found his legs as a painter, and between 1766 and 1772 he exhibited pictures at the Society of Artists. Next he obtained the post of draughtsman to the second expedition to the South Seas under Captain Cook, which occupied him until 1775; and after his return his employment was continued for some time by the Admiralty to finish his drawings and superintend the engraving of them for the published account of the voyage. In 1776 and the following year he sent pictures to the exhibitions of the Royal Academy. Evidently, however, he found his profession insufficiently lucrative; and, having lost his first wife, whom he had married in 1776 (1), he determined to try his fortune in India. On 28th October, 1778 the Directors gave him permission to proceed to that country as a painter; and a month later James Stuart, of Leicester Square, and John Whitmore, of Bolt Court, Fleet Street, were accepted as his securities in £1,000.

By what ship Hodges went out I have not succeeded in discovering; but he seems to have reached Madras early in 1780, for the list of inhabitants at that place, dated 28th February in that year, gives 1780 as the time of his arrival. Madras itself affording few subjects for his brush, he planned an excursion into the interior. In this he was disappointed by Hyder Ali's sudden irruption into the Carnatic; and after waiting some time and finding no likelihood of the war ceasing, he embarked in February, 1781 for Bengal with the idea of returning to England. His chief reason for deciding to go home seems to have been that his health had begun to fail. However, a short stay in Calcutta proved so beneficial in this respect that he changed his mind and remained; induced thereto partly by the fact that he had found

(1) Hodges was married first, on 11th May, 1776, to Miss Martha Nesbit, who died in childhood within a year; second, on 16th October, 1784, to Miss Lydia Wright; and third, to Miss Carr, who was "much beloved and praised by Romney." By his third wife, who died shortly after him, he had five children.

warm friends in Thomas Henry Davies, the Advocate-General, and in Warren Hastings, to whom he brought a letter of introduction from John Macpherson (2). During the rest of Hodges' stay in India the Governor-General proved at once a steady supporter and a munificent patron.

The artist certainly made the utmost use of all the opportunities afforded him. In April, 1781 he went by way of Murshidabad to Monghyr; and this excursion, besides introducing him at Bhagalpur to Augustus Cleveland (with whom he stayed for some time), gave full employment to his busy pencil. Soon after his return to Calcutta, Hastings set out on his memorable journey to Benares, and Hodges was allowed to make one of the party. He shared in the flight to Chunar that followed the outbreak at Benares; and he returned to that city with the Governor-General at the end of September. The party quitted Benares towards the close of the year and reached Bhagalpur early in January, 1782. There the painter took leave of Hastings, and remained for four months with Cleveland, exploring the country round and painting diligently. Cleveland patronised the artist as lavishly as Hastings himself; and when, after his premature death, his effects were sold in Calcutta, no less than twenty-one paintings by Hodges were included (3).

Hodges returned to Calcutta in the middle of May, 1782. There the heat caused a fever, which incapacitated him for a time, and it was not until the cold weather came that he recovered sufficiently to resume his occupation. He then obtained permission to proceed to Agra and Delhi, an opportunity offering by reason of the despatch of Major Browne on a mission to Mirza Shafi Khan, the Emperor's chief minister. From the letter quoted later it would seem that Hodges was given what he calls a salary during this journey; but no information on this point has been discovered in the records. He travelled by way of Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow to Etawa, where he joined Major Browne's party. The Khan was found in the neighbourhood of Agra; and during the time spent by Browne in conference with him, Hodges explored the surrounding country and made many sketches. Finding that no opportunity was likely to occur of visiting Delhi, the painter left Browne towards the end of April and proceeded to Gwalior, where he met David Anderson and his brother James, engaged in negotiating with Sindia. The Andersons were already acquainted with Hodges, for they had been in Hastings' suite at Benares, and they now treated him with great kindness. He was, however, suffering from the results of exposure to the sun and, after remaining ten days at Gwalior, he continued his journey to Lucknow, where Colonel Claud Martin took him into his

(2) Sydney C. Grier, *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 121.

(3) See advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 9th January, 1794, where they are described as follows:—"Hill and Lake of Ture Hill Mundar; Mooty Jurna waterfall; Bejy Gur; Raj-mahal; Peer Pahar Hill, Monghyr, Monghyr Fort; Jehangela Fort; Sickergully; another view of the same place; Oodooa Nullah; Byjenath or Deo Gur; Rocks in Jungleterry; Bhagulpore Nullah and Mosque; Touch and distant view of Rajmahal Hills; a Dirgah; Lake Jungleterry; Hill of Ture; a Banyan Tre; Lake Jungleterry and a thunderstorm; Bhagulpore House, distant view."

house and nursed and doctored him back to health. Quitting his kind host in the middle of July, the artist proceeded to Benares, Buxar (whence he made an excursion to Sasaram to sketch the mausoleum of Sher Shah), and Bhagalpur. At that place, to his great grief, he found Cleveland suffering from the illness which proved fatal a few months later. Hodges himself reached Calcutta on 24th September, 1783, after an absence of nine and a half months.

He now contemplated a still more ambitious project, namely, an expedition right across India to Surat; but he found that the expense of such a journey would be beyond his means and so the idea was given up. He decided to return to England. A passage was secured in the *Worcester*, which was to carry home Sir Elijah Impey and his family. Hodges embarked at Kalpi on 26th November; Impey came on board lower down the river on 7th December; and the vessel sailed from Sagar Roads two days later. She reached the Downs on 10th June, 1784.

Before quitting Calcutta, Hodges addressed the following letter to the Governor-General (4) :—

HON'BLE SIR,

As the time approaches on which I have fixed for my departure to Europe, I cannot be so near leaving this country without tendering you my humble but most sincere acknowledgements and thanks for the honor which you have done me and the flattering, as well as very useful encouragement which you have afforded me in my profession as a painter. It has been, and is, in the good fortune of gentlemen who have come to Bengal and could be in any shape instrumental in improving the arts which have advanced the English nation to a summit of particular distinction among the states in Europe, to receive the honor of your patronage and attention; but the favour which you have shewn me (and happy should I be, could I be brought to suppose myself deserving) has been particularly distinguished. I have also the honor to be much indebted to the gentlemen of the Council for their employment of my poor service at your recommendation in the Upper Provinces. I have been rewarded for these services in a very satisfactory degree by the credit of their protection and the salary which they were pleased to allot me; and I wish not to leave Bengal without tendering some fruits of my labor to the Company. I cannot do so in a manner more pleasing or creditable to myself than in soliciting your permission, Hon'ble Sir, to make the tender through you; and under a hope that you will grant it, I take the liberty to request that you will do me the honor of presenting to the Council, for transmission to the Company by one of the ships of this year, five scenes of places which have not yet been represented by any artist who has travelled to that part of India: a view of the Fort

(4) Bengal Public Consultations, 13th November, 1783.

of Agra from the northward: a view of Agra from southward:
of the gate of the tomb of Akbar: of the Fort of Gaulier:
and of the palace of the Nabob at Lucknow. I have, etc.

WM. HODGES.

CALCUTTA,

13th November, 1783.

The offer was accepted, and orders were given that the pictures should be sent home in the *Rodney* and that the artist himself should be recommended to the Directors in the next general letter. The latter intention was apparently forgotten, or else abandoned on reconsideration; but the Company was somehow made aware of the gift, possibly by a private letter from the Governor-General. Among the Company's home correspondence we find a letter, dated 22nd June, 1784, addressed to the Commissioners of the Customs, referring to the pictures as intended to be hung in the East India House, and begging that they should be allowed to pass free of duty. To this request a refusal was returned; whereupon the Company made an appeal to the Treasury (14th July). The application was referred by the latter to the Customs Commissioners, who in reply said that they saw no reason why the Duty should be excused; and in this view the Lords of the Treasury (21 August) concurred (5). No further allusion to the matter has been traced in the records; but it seems certain that the pictures were never hung at the East India House, and so we must conclude that the Company refused to pay the duty and left them to their fate. To some extent this may have been due to pique; though possibly another reason was that the Directors were at the time so short of cash that they had made repeated applications to the Treasury for permission to defer the payment of the large sums due to the Government for customs. These requests had been granted; but it may have been thought at the East India House, that it would not look well in the circumstances to pay even the small amount due on the pictures while pleading want of means to meet the Company's liability on its ordinary trade imports.

We must now resume the story of Hodges' career. It has been alleged that he brought back a fortune from India. Of this, however, I find no evidence. It seems unlikely that his paintings had been in so much demand as to leave much of a surplus when his expenses (including his passage home) had been paid; and such indications as there are tend to show that the rest of his life was more or less of a struggle to make a livelihood. He entered on it bravely enough, and kept it up with indomitable spirit. He married for the second time (only once again to lose his wife after a very short time) and settled in Queen Street, Mayfair. He then projected the publication of a series of engravings in aquatint by himself from the sketches he had brought back. These were to form two series of twenty-four

(5) Treasury Minutes at the Public Record Office. Vols. 55 and 56.

plates each, to be issued (with letter-press) in quarterly parts of four each at 30s. a part. The whole work cost £18 unbound, or £20 bound. Upon his application the Directors (22 Dec. 1785) allowed the work to be dedicated to the East India Company and subscribed for forty sets. Hodges was also busily engaged in making pictures in oils from the same sketches, and between 1785 and 1788 he exhibited at the Royal Academy, besides other works, no less than twenty-two Indian views, following up these with four more at the exhibition of 1794. He had been elected an Associate of the Academy in 1786 and a full R. A. three years later. That Sir Joshua Reynolds thought well of his work is shown by a letter from him to the Duke of Rutland, of 20 August, 1786 (6). The Duke, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had expressed a wish that William Marlow, the fashionable painter of landscapes and country seats, would come over to Dublin. Reynolds replied that Marlow had "quitted business"; and he went on to say: "I have met lately with a painter of landskips and buildings that I think excells Marlow—Mr. Hodges, who went the first [sic] voyage of Capt. Cook and has since been in the East Indies. He is now desirous of seeing Ireland, and would embark immediately if he was sure of Your Grace's protection. He is a very intelligent and ingenious artist and produced, I think, the best landskips in the last exhibition, which were taken from drawings which he made in the East Indies."

As shown by this letter, Hodges was always ready to embrace an opportunity of seeing fresh countries. About 1790 he made a tour on the Continent, in the course of which he visited St. Petersburg. After this he turned his attention to writing an account of his experiences in the East, which was published early in 1793, under the title of *Travels in India, 1780-83*. The work, which, apart from its personal details, is interesting as an account of the country at the period with which it deals, is written with such modesty and good taste as to give a very favourable impression of the author; and indeed he must have had a winning personality to secure, as he seems to have done, the warm regard of almost everyone he met. As illustrations, he reproduced fifteen of his own pictures, though this time he took no part in the engraving of them. Eight of these pictures belonged at the time to Warren Hastings. When the latter sold his house in Park Lane, he sent eleven of Hodges' paintings to Christie's for sale, and was much disappointed that they fetched only £125, declaring that he would have burnt them rather than let them go at such a price. Others he evidently retained, for there were several at Daylesford at the time of his death.

The rest of the story may be briefly told. Hodges married for a third time with the result that he soon had five children to provide for. Despite his diligence, he evidently found it difficult to make a living by his profession; and in 1795 he abandoned it, sold off his stock, and settled at Dartmouth, where with some associates he opened a bank. This came to grief

(7) and soon after its failure Hodges died at Brixham (6th March, 1797). Within a short time his wife followed him, leaving the children in poverty. Her brother, upon whom the care of them devolved, wrote to Hastings, begging him to assist by buying the drawings from which Hodges had made the pictures Hastings had purchased. With his usual generosity Hastings complied, and also showed kindness to the family in other ways (8). It may have been at his instance that a Madras cadetship was given to one of the children, Henry William (born 8th November, 1788). The youth went to Madras in 1807, and ten years later we find him taking part in the Pindari War. On the annexation of Khandesh he was appointed Assistant Collector of that district, and this employment he retained for thirteen years. After furlough to England he returned to Madras in October, 1832, and was made private secretary to the Governor (Sir Frederick Adam); but two months later he obtained the appointment of Government Agent at Chepauk and Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends. He returned to England in 1836 (by which time he had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel), retired two years later, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle on 19 October, 1845.

Considering what a prolific artist he was, it seems strange that comparatively few pictures by Hodges are to be found in public collections. Neither the National Gallery nor the Tate Gallery possesses a specimen of his work. In the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy may be seen his "View of the Ghauts at Benares;" the India Office has another view at Benares, purchased in 1904; and the Government of India one of the Taj Mahal, though how this was acquired does not seem to be known (9). At Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields there are two drawings in body colour by Hodges, one representing a side view of the mosque at Fatehpur Sikri, and the other a water pavilion near Agra. The Admiralty possesses some of his original sketches made during his voyage with Cook and two more are in the Print Department of the British Museum; while a water colour drawing of a ruined palace at Madura is in the South Kensington Museum.

As we have seen, the story of William Hodges is one of comparative failure. His talents were limited. Portrait painting (the most lucrative branch of the art) was apparently beyond his reach, and the landscapes to which he was obliged in the main to confine himself were in small demand. His pictures are well composed and the colouring is good; but they cannot be said to be of transcendent merit. Lord Valentia, in his *Travels*, comments severely upon their inaccuracy; and it must be confessed that the painter seems to have been more concerned to make a pleasing composition than to copy exactly the scene he professed to portray. In this, however, he was by no means singular, for the same accusation might be brought against the great Turner. His visit to India was the outstanding event of 'Hodges' career. He travelled much more widely in that country than any

(7) See Extract from the Farington Diary: given as an Appendix on pp. 7-8.

(8) Sydney C. Grier, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

(9) This picture is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi.

other artist had done before and he was the first to make known pictorially the remarkable architecture of the Upper Provinces; nor must the merits of his account of his travels be overlooked in his claims to remembrance.

The portrait here reproduced was engraved by William Daniell and published in his *Collection of Portraits, 1808-14*. It was taken from a sketch made by George Dance on 10th March, 1793, which is now preserved in the library of the Royal Academy. A second engraving, "from an original painting by Mr. [Richard] Westall," was made by Thorntwait for the *Literary Magazine* (1793). On this Hodges is described as "Landscape Painter to the Prince of Wales."

WILLIAM FOSTER.

APPENDIX.

THE DEATH OF HODGES

By way of pendant to Sir William Foster's interesting article, we reproduce an extract from the Diary of Joseph Farington, R.A., in which an account is given of the transactions in connexion with the bank at Dartmouth which ended in the death of Hodges. The Dr. Gretton who is referred to has been identified as George Gretton, Rector of Hensor in Buckinghamshire and Dean of Windsor from 1809 until his death in 1820.

"November 17, 1806—[Dr. Gretton] complained much of the great loss He had sustained by His Brother who was connected with Hodges in a Bank which they set up at Dartmouth. He said His Brother had great abilities for His profession but had become drunken & depraved. After the death of Hodges He allowed His Brother £200 a year to maintain Him so as to enable him to proceed in his profession as an Attorney after the Bank had stopped; but all His wishes were frustrated by the habits He had adopted,—& He now allowed Him a pittance regardless of what may become of Him.—He spoke of Hodges with great bitterness, saying that He had neither *religion* or *principles*: that he was a swindler and a cheat.—He sd. His Brother unfortunately became acquainted with Hodges in the following manner:—

John Carr, brother [in law] to Mr. Hodges, had been placed with an Attorney in London of the name of *Pugh*, who proved to be a flimsy man, & in other respects such, as to cause Hodges to be dissatisfied with Him. At that time Dr. Gretton had a living at Dartmouth, & His Brother was established there as an Attorney.

"Hodges prevailed upon the Doctor to induce His Brother to take John Carr to be His clerk, which caused an intercourse between Hodges & Him, and the former made a proposal to the latter to set up a Bank at Dartmouth and shewed to the latter Deeds not worth six pence to prove that He was worth £12,000, all of which He offered to lodge as a foundation to

begin their Banking business upon.—The matter was communicated to Dr. Gretton who objected to it, but without the Doctor's knowledge an agreement was made & the Bank was established. At that time a Mr. Seal, a gentleman of good property, engaged with them, His name was 12 months in the firm, but He, seeing something which He did not like, withdrew from it, and left Hodges and Gretton the only partners. Gretton attending to his business as an Attorney left the management of the Banking business to Hodges & a Clerk and looked at the books only occasionally.—Thus matters wore on. Hodges went to London and called on Dr. Gretton and told Him that they had discounted some *Newfoundland Bills* to a considerable amount which had reduced their Cash, and desired the Doctor to accept two bills of £500 each payable in a few months, upon which Hodges could procure money, to suit their convenience till the Bills shd. become due. After some hesitation the Doctor consented but required to have the Bills as a security. Hodges sd. they were in the Country, but He wd. send them. Soon after Hodges informed Him that He shd. not require *His acceptance* of the Bills He had proposed to draw.

"The Doctor afterwards discovered that it was owing to Hodges's refusing to give Cash for the Bills if drawn which they did because *they suspected that ultimately the Doctor would be obliged to pay them* & they wished to prevent His sustaining such a loss. He also discovered that no Newfoundland Bills had been discounted & it was all a fiction contrived for his private accommodation.—The final blow up was occasioned as follows.—Gretton looking into the Books one day discovered that Hodges had drawn bills in the space of one fortnight, to the amount of near £2,000 for the purpose of paying His own debts incurred in London before He left that place. Among the rest was one to a *Taylor* for upwards of £300, the Taylor's name something like *Marcellus*. Gretton immediately expressed His astonishment at the transaction, and instantly, Hodges present, gave a charge to the Clerk, never again to draw a Bill at the request of Hodges without his knowledge & consent, and otherways expressed Himself strongly. Before they parted Hodges told Gretton privately, "That He might as well have put Him *in his Coffin* as said what he had done to & before the clerk."—The next day Gretton went to London and in a few days information was sent Him that Hodges was dead.

"Dr. Gretton then said, Hodges poisoned Himself. In the night before His death Mrs. Hodges noticed to Him that she perceived by His breath that He had been taking Laudanum.—He was then a good deal convulsed, but said He had taken a little to relieve His stomach. He gradually became worse & died the next morning. It appeared that He had drank all the Laudanum that was in a bottle & *that it was an Ounce.*"



MRS. HASTINGS:
From a Portrait by Schlotterbeck.

The Second Mrs. Hastings and Her Sons.

I HAVE lately been examining the volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788 (Vol. LVIII) and at page 945 of the second part have come across the following "Anecdotes of a Lady of Political Consequence", which plainly refer to the second Mrs. Hastings, and which may possibly prove of interest to readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

* * * * *

Stuttgart, July [1788].

"MR. URBAN,

"The following particulars relating to a celebrated Lady may not be thought uninteresting, at a season when her situation, and that of her husband, must necessarily furnish much subject for conversation. The facts are undeniable, and were repeatedly corroborated by persons of undoubted veracity.

AN IMPARTIAL TRAVELLER.

"Mrs.—was born either at Stuttgart, the capital of the Duchy of Wurtemberg, or at Louisbourg, a small town about ten miles from Stuttgart, and where the Duke had a large and magnificent palace in which he during some years, constantly resided. The family name of Mrs.— was Chapusette de St. Valentia, originally from France, but some time transferred to Germany. Her parents were in a very humble, and indeed miserable situation; for her father was a musician of a very inferior class, and gained his livelihood by attending guingettes and rustic balls, while his wife who had been a common servant, contributed to maintain her family by her labour as a washerwoman. Mrs.— had a brother, who was for some years a private soldier in the service of the Duke of Wurtemberg; and she herself performed all the menial offices in her father's house, until she was captivated at the age of 16 (at which period she was remarkable for her beauty), by one — then an officer in the service of the Duke of W. but who was soon after reformed, and left with the remnants of a fortune originally very small. Thus reduced, he determined to try his fortune in another country, and quitting Germany with Mrs.— whom he then or soon afterwards married, repaired to England whence they embarked for India. This event happened about 21 or 22 years since, subsequent to which the father of Mrs.— died, but the mother and brother are still living at Stuttgart, upon a pension which she has settled upon them for their lives, and which is fully adequate to their wishes and station. The brother purchased his discharge and continues at Stuttgart in an independent situation, and Mr.— has long been returned to Europe is resident in some part of Germany

married to another woman by whom he had a numerous family and being it is said still assisted by Mrs.—.

" Since the great turn in the affairs of that lady, attempts have been made to prove that she is descended from the ancient and respectable family of Chapusette in France, and the chargé des affaires from the Court of Versailles was applied to by Mrs.—'s brother and doubtless at her instigation, to search into the annals of that family, and draw out proofs of the alliance; but although every proper search was made no trace could be found of there having been any alliance or connection between that family and the family of Mrs.—. It is said that, soon after that lady's arrival in London her mother came over to see her, but that Mrs.— would not suffer her to come to her house, and only saw her twice at an inn where she promised to provide for her, upon condition of her quitting England directly. This condition being complied with, Mr. Meyer, the miniature painter, a native of the Duchy of Wurtemberg (1), was sent over to Stuttgardt as agent to Mrs.— and arranged the settlement of the mother and brother much to their satisfaction. This arrangement was accompanied by a picture of Mrs.— which her relatives are not a little fond of displaying."

* * * * *

These revelations by "An Impartial Traveller" will repay study in juxtaposition with the extracts translated by Fraülein Mülberger of Stuttgart (a great grand daughter of Mrs. Hastings' brother, "Baron Chapuset"), from a series of articles by Herr Rektor Lochner published in the *Korrespondent von und für Deutschland* of Nuremberg, in 1683, which were communicated to *Bengal: Past and Present* by "Sydney C. Grier" in 1910 and printed at pages 333 to 337 of the fifth volume.

* * * * *

Lochner begins by stating that his essay, "Marianne Hastings," cannot claim to be a complete picture, and aims only at enshrining the fragments which he had gathered from every available source. He has searched all the Church Books, Registers and Archives of Nuremberg and Altdorf, where the Chapuset family lived, has also had the opportunity of studying the private records of the Imhof family, and has gathered what reminiscences he could from people still living who had known the Chapuset family. He says that important parts of the history seemed to be irretrievably lost.

Among the refugees forced to leave France, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, was one Charles Chapuset de St. Valentin, born in 1653, and formerly Brigadier in the household troops of the King, the famous "Maison du Roi." He earned his living as a teacher of languages and dancing in Berlin, Erlangen and Schwalbach, settling finally in the Univer-

(1) Jeremiah Meyer, miniature painter, was born at Tübingen in Wurtemberg in 1735. In 1789 he was appointed by the King to be a foundation member of the Royal Academy. He resided for many years in Tavistock Row, Covent Garden, and later at Kew, where he died of a fever on January 19, 1789. His grave is close to that of Gainsborough in Kew Churchyard.

sity town of Altdorf, near Nuremberg. Here he became dancing-master to the University, and as a widower married, on 21st September, 1693, Katharina Maria Muller, the daughter of a clergyman of Graefenberg. Two children of this marriage are known: Johann Karl (born at Altdorf, 1694, teacher of languages, wrote several French grammars, died in 1770 at Nuremberg) and Friedrich Julius (born at Altdorf, 1702, merchant at Nuremberg, died 1786).

By a third marriage with Susanna Maria—, (surname unknown), Charles Chapuset had another son, Johann Jakob, who was still a schoolboy when his father died, and who seems to have been the only one of the family to show marked French characteristics. Nothing is known about the days of his youth. He is said to have become Imperial Notary in 1736, (but his name is not to be found in the list of Notaries), then, in consequence of a duel, to have enlisted as a soldier and entered the Imperial Service, and to have died in a military hospital at Schwarzenbach on the Seal in 1758. There is no documentary proof of this. His wife was Caroline Friederike Grundgeiger or Krongeiger, born in 1720 at Carlsruhe. On July 16, 1749, their son, Johann Paul Thomas, was baptized "auf der Burg zu Nürnberg," that is, in the barracks established in the old castle, where Johann Jakob, as a sergeant, would naturally have his dwelling. There was also a daughter, Anna Maria Apollonia, a little older than the boy, and born probably (Lochner has not discovered any entry of the fact), in 1748 (2).

Johann Jakob appears to have been the black sheep of his family, for on his death his widow and children were left in such extreme poverty that, according to oral tradition, the poor lady was obliged to earn her living by manual labour, taking in washing, as did the other sergeant's wives. She seems to have been a strong-minded and capable woman, and must have succeeded in giving her daughter a fairly good education, judging from the ease with which in after life Marianne or Marian (as she afterwards styled herself) filled the high position which fell to her lot.

It was after the Seven Years War, in 1763, that a young officer, Christof Adam Karl Von Imhof, came to Nuremberg, to visit a family of his acquaintance. The end of the war had left him among the unemployed, and the means of his family, Imhof auf Marlach, were too small to provide him with a maintenance. He went about among his relatives, from one household to another, repaying to some extent the hospitality he received by painting their portraits. He had a number of relatives in Nuremberg, and spent some time there. No information whatever has come to light respecting the way in which Imhof and Marianne became acquainted. There were many difficulties that militated against a marriage between them. Imhof's income was not large enough for his own wants, much less to support a family. He was also of noble birth, and could have requested the hand of a daughter of any of the chief Nuremberg families, while Marianne's family, though of noble descent, had quitted France in circumstances which involved the total loss of its property, and she herself had been brought up in poverty.

(2) February 2, 1747 (Lawson)—S.C.G.

and was the daughter of a soldier, at that time a profession held in little esteem. The circumstances, time and place of their wedding are also shrouded in absolute obscurity.

The family records of the Imhofs do not contain a single mention of Marianne (3). Imhof's marriage would naturally be considered a misalliance by his noble family, who evidently thought his decision to earn his livelihood by painting portraits was too degrading to an officer of noble birth to be mentioned, for the record states merely that he undertook a journey to England for the sake of making progress in his studies. All that Lochner can say on the subject is:—"Since the family record gives no information on the matter, we can only say that Imhof and Marianne left Nuremberg, were married somewhere—perhaps in some country place (for it cannot be doubted that they were married in church)—and then went immediately to England, where they must have lived for several years, Imhof earning a livelihood for himself and his family, which now included two sons, by painting. Of these years also no record remains."

Marriane's brother, Johann Paul Thomas ("Baron Chapuset,") lived and died at Stuttgart. He is described as a *particulier*, i.e., a person of independent means (4). There is a saying in the family that he occupied the post of Court gardener the King of Wurtemberg, but nothing certain is known about this. Marianne's mother also spent the later years of her life at Stuttgart and died there.

* * * * *

Lochner's statement that the circumstances of the wedding of Imhof and Anna Maria Chapusettin are "shrouded in absolute obscurity" must be qualified in the light of the evidence afforded by the following entry made by Joseph Farington in his Diary on June 4, 1795:—

Mrs. Hastings was Maid of Honor at the Court of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, married Mr. Imhoff in consequence it is said of the effects of a former intrigue. Mr. Scheulenburg obtained from Sir William James (5) an appointment of cadet for Imhoff, and he

(3) The evidence is conflicting here, for Henriette von Bissing writing later than Lochner, says in her life of Imhoff's daughter Amalie, that she had read many letters from Marian on the subject of the divorce among the family papers.—S.C.G.

(4) Hastings obtained an Indian cadetship for Charles Chapuset, a son of "Baron Chapuset": but the young man came to no good. Extravagant from the first, he lost the adjutancy of his regiment because he was Rs. 16,000 in debt to Colonel (afterwards Sir David) Ochterlony, and finally absconded from Muttra where he was stationed. The Rajah of Bhurtpore arrested him in his territory and he was sent down to Calcutta under a guard and cashiered. His sister Marian acted as companion to Mrs. Hastings and subsequently married the Rev. Thomas Winter, Rector of Daylesford who became the custodian of the Hastings relics and papers. These were bequeathed to the Victoria Memorial Hall by their daughter Miss Marian Winter. (See *Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife*: Appendix III, pp. 461, 463.)

(5) "Commodore" James who captured the sea fort of Severndroog on the west coast from the Mahratta pirate Tulaji Angria in March, 1755. He was created a baronet in 1778 and was a Director of the East India Company from 1768 until his death in 1783 (Deputy Chairman, 1778 and 1781, Chairman, 1779). Farington's "Mr. Scheulenberg" is obviously Fanny Burney's "Mrs. Schwellenberg."

and Mrs. Imhoff happened to take their passage to Madras in the *Grafton* Indiaman (6) when Mr. Hastings was also a passenger going out as 2nd in Council to Madras, from whence he was removed to Bengall (7). His attachment to Mrs. Imhoff commenced during the passage. A regular divorce according to the rules of a German Court between Imhoff and his wife, after which Mr. Hastings married her (8). It does not appear that a known criminal connection was formed before. The divorce was under pretence of some personal illusage received by Mrs. Imhoff from Mr. Imhoff.

"Sydney C. Grier" discredits the scandal here retailed as to the cause of the marriage with Imhoff and declares it to be impossible, in the light of Queen Caroline's subsequent patronage (9). She adds that the Mecklenburgh Strelitz connection will account at once for the Queen's friendliness and for the absence of any mention of the marriage in the Stuttgart registers. The marriage presumably took place at Strelitz between 1765 and 1768, but no entry can be found in the records or church registers.

The portrait of Mrs. Hastings which faces page 9 accompanied "Sydney Grier's" article and is taken from a picture which was in 1910 in the possession of Fräulein Mülberger. It is signed "Schlotterbeck, pinx, 1789", but it is clear that it must represent Mrs. Hastings at a much earlier age. The original was possibly the work of Imhoff himself. Fr. Mülberger was not able to furnish any particulars of Schlotterbeck, nor was she in a position to say for whom this picture, and companion portraits of Mrs. Hastings' father and mother, were painted. Can it be the picture alluded to in the *Gentleman's Magazine* which "Mrs.—'s relatives are not a little fond of displaying"? Mrs. Hastings is painted in a white dress with blue ribbons. The hair is fair, and the eyes blue.

Mrs. Hastings had two sons (10) by Baron Imhoff, Charles and Julius, in whom their stepfather took great interest. When William Hickey was in London in 1780 he dined in Newman Street with Mrs. Touchet, the mother

(6) The *Duke of Grafton* (499 tons, Captain Brook Samson in command) sailed from the Downs for "the Coast and Bay" on March 26, 1769.

(7) Hastings arrived in Calcutta on February 17, 1772. The Imhoffs had preceded him. The Fort Saint George Consultations for September 10, 1770, record that "Mr. Imhoff, who arrived here as a cadet last season, applies for permission to resign the service and proceed to Bengall." According to Dr. Tyso Saul Hancock, Imhoff reached Calcutta at the end of 1770, but his wife did not join him until October 1771. Divorce proceedings were taken by Imhoff in the Court of Franconia directly the *Duke of Grafton* touched at Madras, but the decree was not received in Calcutta until 1775, or six years later.

(8) The marriage is thus recorded in the Registers of St. John's Church, Calcutta:—

1777, August 8.—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esq., Governor-General of India and Miss Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusettin.

(9) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 18.

(10) Sir Charles Lawson mentions a third son Ernest, who died in infancy; but "Sydney Grier" has been able to find no trace of him, and if such a son was born, he must have died in Germany before the Imhoffs came to England.

of Peter and Samuel Touchet and "Bibby Motte", and there met "two fine lads, Westminster, named Imhoff being sons of Mrs. Hastings by her former husband" (Memoirs Vol. II, p. 248). Three years later (1783) we find a reference to them in a letter from Major Scott Waring to Mrs. Hastings:—

I mentioned your young gentlemen. They are both extremely well. The eldest grows a very graceful, handsome young fellow, and the youngest Julius is, I assure you, a perfect resemblance of his dear Mother.

The early history of these sons has been examined with great care by "Sydney C. Grier", but, nevertheless, remains obscure. The theory that two sons were born to the Imhoffs at Madras, and that one died there, is not supported by any entry in the Madras lists of births and deaths. But the list of passengers by the *Duke of Grafton* in 1769 indicates that the Imhoffs took one child to India with them (11) and in 1768 "Mr. Imhoff" showed a miniature of his wife and child at the exhibition of the London Society of Artists.

Details of the subsequent career of the boys are more precise. Charles, the elder, served in one of the Prince of Waldeck's regiments; and received a commission in the British Army in 1799. He married in 1796 Charlotte Blunt a daughter of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart., who came out to India at the age of 53 to make a second fortune and died worth £100,000 at Pulta on September 28, 1802, at the age of 72 (12). Charlotte Imhoff nursed Hastings in his last illness, and a letter of hers, "blistered with tears", conveyed the news of his death (on August 22, 1818) to his life-long friend David Anderson. Imhoff was allowed with three other Englishmen to accept the insignia and title of a Knight Commander of the Swedish Order of St. Joachim (13), and inherited the estate of Daylesford on his mother's death on March 20, 1837, at the age of ninety. He died as recently as February 14, 1853, at the age of eighty-six.

Julius entered the Company's service in 1790 as a writer on the Bengal establishment. The following extract from the editorial columns of the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 5, 1790, will be found in Seton Karr's *Selections* (Vol. II, p. 273):

The Court of Directors, in their general letter, mention having appointed thirty-two writers to this establishment. The list of their names has not yet been received.

Mr. Hastings, who was very handsomely allowed to nominate one, has chosen Mr. Imhoff.

(11) Sir Charles Lawson says that the child was Charles.

(12) He is commemorated by a marble monument in St. John's Church, Calcutta.

(13) The Hastings MSS. contain several letters from a Swede of the name of Hansen who obtained the decoration for Imhoff and was anxious to perform the same series for Hastings: see note by "Sydney C. Grier" in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 234.

He arrived in Calcutta on August 1, 1790, and was appointed to be an assistant in the office of the Secretary in the Public Department. On January 13, 1792, he was posted to Moorshedabad as Second Assistant to the Collector: and on May 1, 1793, was transferred to Tipperah as Register of the Dewanny Adawlut. On August 30 in the same year (1793) he returned to the Presidency as Register of the Court of Appeal and Circuit: and went to Midnapore as Collector on April 7, 1797. Here he found himself faced with the duty of suppressing the Chuar rebellion, and his exertions so seriously affected his health that he died in 1799. In a report submitted in 1874 to the Government of Bengal by Mr. J. C. Price, Settlement Officer at Midnapore, we read:

The year 1799 A.D. is marked in the Midnapore annals as the year of the great Chuar rebellion, when all the passions of the sirdars and paiks burst forth in a wild attempt to revenge the resumption of their jaghire land on the Government, if not to compel it to order a complete restoration of them. All the lawless tribes of the jungle mehals made common cause with the paiks, and carried slaughter and flame to the very doors of the Magistrate's cutcherry.

The ordinary police and the military stationed at Midnapore were utterly unable to cope with the banditti, as they were called, and a reinforcement of troops had to be dispatched to Midnapore. After a period of the greatest anxiety and suspense, after innumerable and most brutal murders, after the death of the Collector himself, who could bear the weight of his charge no longer and succumbed under the accumulation of his troubles, it was not until the close of the year that the district was restored to a state of only partial tranquillity.

Mr. Price gives a remarkable illustration of the unsettled state of the country. The Judges of the Provincial Court of Appeal were due at Midnapore in March to hold sessions. On their way from Burdwan and Beerbhoom they halted at Keerpov (Kirpai) and one of them, John White, wrote to the Magistrate, Robert Gregory, protesting against his failure to inform them of the danger of travelling through a disturbed district, and requesting him to state whether it was practicable for the Judges to proceed with security. Gregory advised them to go by way of Ghatal and then by water down the river Roopnarayan to Tumlook. "The road from Keerpoy to Midnapore," he said, "is very insecure owing to the numerous banditti infesting all quarters, and it is dangerous to travel even with a guard of sepoys." The Judges were so alarmed that they betook themselves to Hooghly and held Sessions there.

On May 6, 1799, Imhoff was relieved of the duties of Collector by his assistant T. W. Ernst and took over the office of Collector from Gregory who was summoned to the Presidency to explain in person matters connected with the insurrection. On September 6, Imhoff was obliged to leave

Midnapore for Ghatal on account of his health: but grew worse there and proceeded to Calcutta where he died on September 23, shortly after his arrival (14).

Julius Imhoff kept up his stepfather's connexion with Alipore: and, says "Sydney Grier," the vault in which he and his three children are buried is to be found in the grounds between Hastings House and the Judge's Court. He built a house of his own at Alipore, in the hope that "it might serve for the use of the Court of Appeal", and describes it in his will (which bears no date) as "my house and grounds situated behind that house or mansion commonly known by the name of Belvedere House and at present occupied by William Augustus Brooke" (15). In 1803 the house was let or sold by the executors to Charles D'Oyly, afterwards the seventh baronet, and was acquired in 1841 by the Nawab Nazim of Moorshedabad, when it was described in the deed of sale as having been formerly occupied by Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe. In 1864 the property passed to Sir Cecil Beadon who dismantled the house and sold portions of the grounds (which are now incorporated in Belvedere) to the Secretary of State. The remaining portion of the grounds is now used by the Agri-Horticultural Society.

The three children of Julius Imhoff were apparently natural children and of mixed blood: and in 1824 or 1825 Letters Patent of legitimation were obtained. Charles, when a boy of five, was drowned with his nurse in 1804 in a well in the grounds of the Alipore house. The other two were placed as boys in the charge of John Palmer, the "Prince of Merchants". John (born 1798) who is described by Palmer as being very dark of complexion, was brought up in Calcutta and married in 1826 Maria Chambers the sixth daughter of John Chambers (16). He left no issue and died between 1848 and 1854. William, who was the eldest of the three, was born in 1791. He had, we are told, "a fine countenance, mild, open, intelligent, bears a strong resemblance to his poor father." Hastings and his wife took charge of him, and he was brought up at Daylesford, where he became a great favourite, "but developed unsatisfactory traits of character as he grew older." His descent excluded him from the Company's service, and John Palmer was asked to settle him "in the Indigo Line." The scheme, however, does not seem to have been attended with success. "He proved idle, and fickle, and was frequently out of employment": and died in 1823 or 1824, before the arrival of the letters of legitimation.

(14) Asiatic Annual Register.

(15) William Augustus Brooke entertained Bishop Heber at Benares in 1824, and had then been fifty-six years in India. He died at Benares on July 10, 1833, at the age of eighty-one which places the date of his birth in 1752. He is said to have owed his first appointment in the Service to Edward Wheler. From 1792 to 1795 he was Collector of Burdwan.

(16) John Chambers, free merchant and oriental translator to the Company, died at Serampore in 1833. He was said to be the son of Captain John Chambers of the Company's service who was killed at Cossimbazar in 1756 and was himself the son of Charles Chambers, Director of the Company from 1755 to 1757 and again from 1763 to 1768 (information derived from a genealogical table of the Chambers family, supplied by the Rev. Fr. G. Lowyck, S.J.).

In conclusion, let me say that the Rev. Fr. G. Lowyck, S. J. informed me in 1923 that there was a portrait in existence of Warren Hastings by Imhoff. It was found concealed under a religious oleograph and was at one time in the possession of a Mrs. Ashe who was a member of the Chambers family into which Julius Imhoff married, but was sold by her to Mr. A. Bush of 35, Elliott Road, Calcutta (17). The Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., who saw the painting about the year 1916, has assured me that the letters "off," forming the end of the name Von Imhoff, were then clearly visible on the canvas. The picture, however, has now faded a good deal, and the inscription is illegible.

JULIAN JAMES COTTON.

(17) The picture, Mr. Bush tells me in a letter of April 29 last, is still with him. Another specimen of Imhoff's art may be seen in the Old Mission Church at Calcutta in the shape of a German engraving of a portrait of John Zachariah Kiernander which he painted in 1773. (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. X, p. 306, where a reproduction of the engraving is given). The original painting was in the possession of the Kiernander family and was accidentally destroyed some thirty years ago through the carelessness of the famous missionary's great grandchildren in their play. The inscription at the foot of the engraving is as follows: "Painted by C. A. C. Imhoff, 1773 in Calcutta in the Kingdom of Bengal, engraved by J. S. Walwer 1776 in Nürnberg."

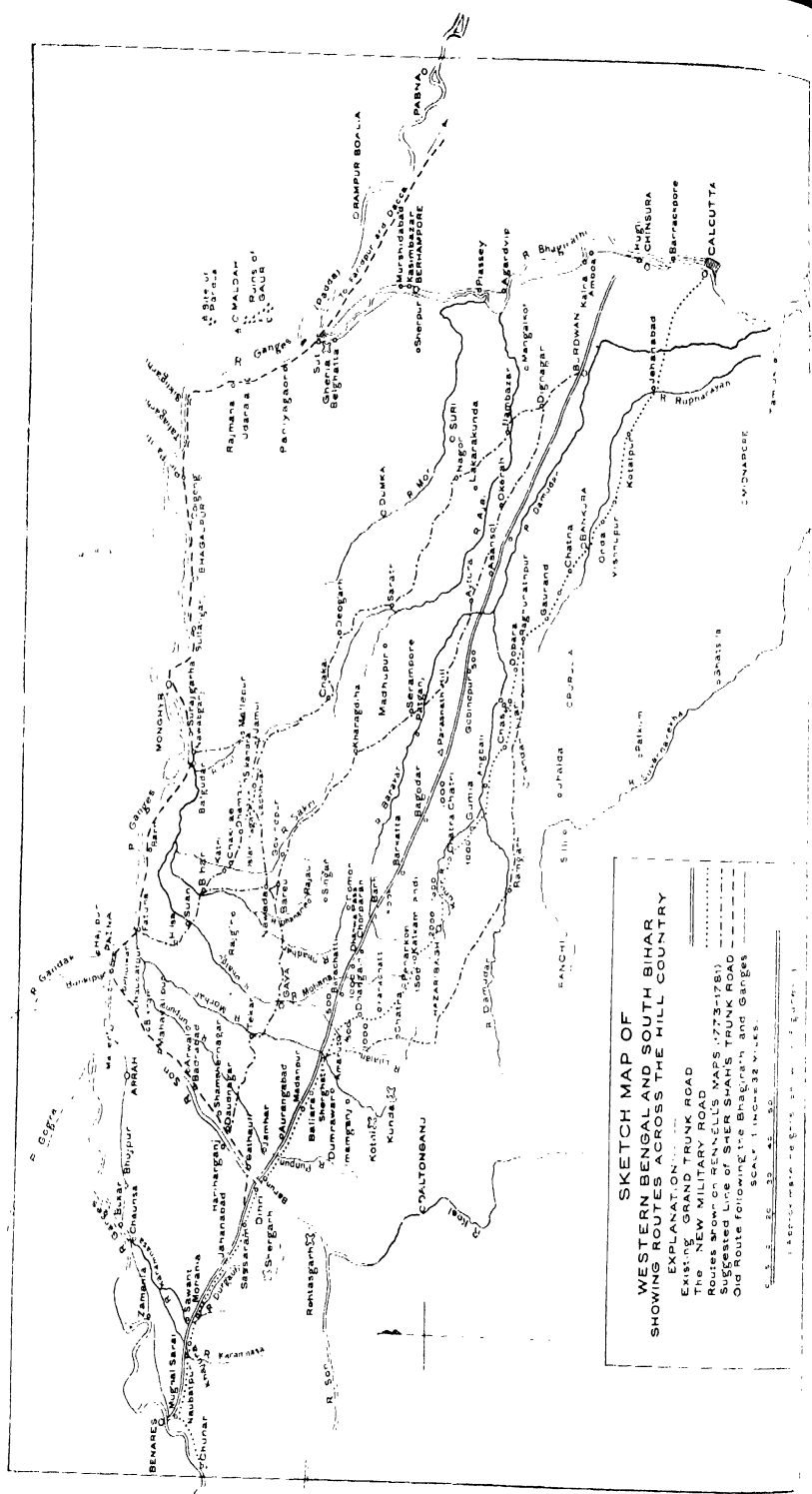
Routes, Old and New, From Lower Bengal "up the Country."

Part II—The "New Military Road" and the Grand Trunk Road.

IN the previous article that appeared in the July-September, 1924 issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 21-36), reference was made to the occasional use of routes across "Jharkand" from the seaboard of Lower Bengal and Orissa to the upper provinces. It was pointed out that previous to the construction, at the instigation of Warren Hastings, of the "New Military Road from Calcutta to Chunargarh" no record could be found of the existence of any one recognized highway leading direct across country through the hills and jungle of Jharkand, as the Chutia Nagpur plateau and its fringes were called in earlier times. A rapid survey was made of some surviving accounts of the use of routes through the hills from the time of the Buddhist pilgrim I-tsing (A.D. 673) down to 1763, when Major Carnac led a body of troops through Chutia Nagpur to Sasaram and the western border of Shahabad at Sawath. Mention should perhaps have been made of two other instances. The *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Shams-i-Siraj Afif tells us how the Emperor Firuz Shah Tughlak, after his second campaign against Bengal, proceeded from Jaunpur through Bihar to Orissa, and after making peace with the "Rai of Jainagar", started back by some route through Jharkand. The guides lost their way, and "the army ascended and descended mountain after mountain, and passed through *jangals* and hills until they were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the arduous march" (1). No news of them reached the capital for about six months. Sufficient detail is not given by the historian to enable us to trace the road taken; but it seems they must have passed to the south and west of Chutia Nagpur, and for part of the way up the Mahanadi valley, through what are now the Feudatory States, crossing the Son somewhere in the south of the Mirzapur district, and reaching Kara by the Ganges route. Two and a quarter centuries later, when Man Singh, then Akbar's Viceroy of Bengal and Bihar, started from Rohtasgarh on his second great campaign against the rebellious Afghan chiefs of Orissa, in 1691-2, he ordered all the Bihar troops, Stewart tells us (2), to proceed "by the western road called the Jarcund route, to Midnapore," while he himself went by the usual way down the Ganges. The words used indicate that some way across Chutia Nagpur was known

(1) Elliot, Vol. III, p. 315.

(2) C. Stewart *History of Bengal*, Section VI.



**SKETCH MAP OF
WESTERN BENGAL AND SOUTH BIHAR
SHOWING ROUTES ACROSS THE HILL COUNTRY**
EXPLANATION
Existing GRAND TRUNK ROAD
The NEW MILITARY ROAD
Routes shown on RENNELL'S MAPS (1773-1781)
Suggested line of SHERR SHAH'S TRUNK ROAD
Old route following the Bhagmati and Ganges

Scale 1 inch = 25 miles
1881-1882

in those days. Possibly it emerged upon the road on which our old pilgrim I-tsing met the mountain brigands that behaved so rudely to him. While it is perfectly clear that routes through the hill country were known to the dwellers in those parts, and were used by travellers and pilgrims, they were only resorted to by the great of the land or by troops in cases of special emergency. We have seen how even Sher Shah, who had a life-long experience of the hill country, selected the more circuitous but easier route by the Ganges for his great highway to the east.

After this digression we may return to the "Military Road." From the Government records of 1781 we learn that Captain James Crawford, who was well acquainted with the Chutia Nagpur upland, having served in those parts for some years, had been called upon to inquire "whether a high road may be made in or near a direct line from Calcutta to Chunargarh, through what places it must pass, and in what manner it may be completed at the smallest expense." Crawford submitted his report in June, 1781, showing the line he recommended should be followed, with necessary detail, and noting the distances from stage to stage. He estimated that the total initial cost would be somewhat less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees, and that Rs. 40 per mile, or about Rs. 16,000 in all, to be paid to the local zamindars, would meet the upkeep. These proposals were laid before the Council on the 7th July, 1781, and it was resolved "in conformity to the Governor-General's recommendation that the charge of making a road from Calcutta to Chunar agreeably to the plan suggested by Captain Crawford be entrusted to Captain Ranken" (3). This decision having been taken, no delay was allowed to occur in giving effect to it. In less than three and-a-half years we find a military officer taking a detachment of troops right along it without mishap. This detachment, moreover, though accompanied by bullock carts (and the bullocks were none of the best), marched from Raghunathpur to Sherghati in twelve marching days, which means an average of 14 miles per day. Officers accustomed to mufassal touring will understand what this means. For such as are not used to road marching, it will be enough to note that even along the Grand Trunk Road between Calcutta and Benares the marching stages, marked by the encampment grounds, are just under 12 miles apart on the average.

The only section in which Captain Crawford's alignment was not adhered to seems to have been between Aurangabad and Sasaram. Crawford proposed that it should go from Aurangabad north-westwards to the large village of Jamhor, on the Punpun river, and thence across the Son by the Makrain ghat, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the present causeway. This meant a considerable curve in the road; and Rankin, very rightly, took a straight line past the villages of Siris, Barun and Dihri, the route followed by the present Grand Trunk Road. The most difficult portion of the road, according to Crawford's report, was the long pass leading down from near

(3) Charles Rankin; Cadet, 1769; Lieutenant, 1772; Captain, 1780; "Struck off, 1793" (Dodwell and Miles).

Kendi (4) in the north-west corner of the Hazaribagh district to Dhangain in the Gaya district. He calls this the Hemuru Ghat (a corruption of the name of a village near by), and noted that it was nearly 5 miles long, extremely uneven, and full of large stones and trees and bamboos that would have to be removed. He estimated that it would cost Rs. 8,000 to make it passable for carts. This truly remarkable estimate deserves more than a passing mention. The pass is one of the most difficult along the whole of the northern edges of the plateau, the drop alone between the top of the ghat and Dhangain being about 1,100 feet. It is interesting to compare with this the case of the corresponding pass on the Grand Trunk Road, some twenty miles further east. In the Dhanwa Pass, between Chauparan and Bhaluachatti, the drop in $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles of road is only 737 feet; and it took the sappers and miners the best part of two years to make the road down it.

In the Map Department of the India Office there is a manuscript "Plan of the New Road, from Fort William to Chunargur" without any date on it or other record to show by whom it was drawn, except that in a corner are the letters "C. Ran—," the rest of the name having disappeared with a portion of the sheet which has worn, or been torn off. It is drawn to a scale of about 5 miles to an inch, the draughtsmanship being extremely neat. As neither the semaphore towers nor the "Shakespearian" bridges mentioned by Herklots in his *Illustrations of the Roads throughout Bengal* are marked, it seems that the plan is of a date earlier than 1828: the style of drawing also points to this conclusion. It may fairly be assumed that it is an original plan drawn by Captain Charles Rankin who constructed the road. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this plan is that it shows no less than seventy "Raised Causeways" along the road and one "Puckah bridge" just before Chunar. The raised causeways were no doubt what have sometimes been facetiously described as "Irish bridges." Figures have been added, giving the length of each in feet. For instance, just before reaching "Debeepara" there are two of 140 and 70 ft., respectively. Between "Gotul" and "Keesnarampoor" three are shown, of 5,050 (?), 370 and 24 ft., respectively. Between "Sootrea" and "Alleepoor," one of 210 ft. Between "Antpoor" and "Champanagur," three of 2,410, 1,550 and 1,750 ft. and so on. The total length of these causeways must have been enormous, affording another *démenti* to the silly statement in the "Calcutta Review" of 1853 that the road had been "merely a line, marked by two ditches, from which a little earth was occasionally thrown to fill up ruts or hollows made by the rain!" (5)

(4) Kainti Nagar on the latest edition of the 1 mile to 1 inch Survey sheet.

(5) The Calcutta Reviewer is not the only person who disparaged the old road. The eccentric F. J. Shore, in his *Notes on Indian Affairs* (Vol. I, p. 177) writes of it:—"I assert without fear of contradiction by a proper committee of survey, that, notwithstanding the hundreds of thousands of rupees which it has cost, it is, except just after the annual patchwork repairs, which the first shower washes away, in no respects better than the common unmade Indian track". Shore was transferred from Bengal to Farrukhabad in 1832, and possibly travelled by the road on that occasion. His *Notes* were published in 1837.

Herklots' "plates" are drawn to a scale of 12 miles to an inch. A brief description of these has been given in the previous article; but a few more details should be added. As the present Grand Trunk Road adopted the line of the old military road from Sherghati on to Benares, attention will be confined chiefly to the portion between Calcutta and Sherghati. Along this length of the road Herklots records 32 dak "stages" (not bungalows, be it noted, but sites where the *palki* bearers were changed), with the distance between each in miles, furlongs and perches. He also gives the names of the principal rivers and "torrents" crossed, the position of "Shakespearian" bridges (with the length and breadth of each), the places where other important roads branch off, and a few notes on other points. He does not mark the raised causeways, probably because the scale of the maps was too small for this. "Staging bungalows" are noted at Bankura, Chas, Jilma (about 6 miles north-west of Hazaribagh cantonment), Penarkon and Sherghati. The following "Shakespearian" bridges are recorded:—

1. Over the Berai river, beyond Vishnupur, 160 ft. span by $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft.
2. Over the "Dungara torrent", near "Arrarah", 162 ft. by 5 ft.
3. Over the "Bearwah torrent", near Katkamsandi, 112 ft. by 5 ft.
4. Over the "Goosey Turreh torrent" (a tributary of the Mohana), near Kanhachatti, 147 ft. span by 9 ft.
5. Over the Karamnasa river, near Khajura, 320 ft. span by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft.

The reader will no doubt notice the varying widths of these bridges.

The expression "Shakespearian" bridge was long a puzzle. Victor Jacquemont, who crossed the Karamnasa in December, 1829, mentions (6) the suspension bridge then standing "which in India is ridiculously called a *Shakespearian* bridge", apparently assuming that they were so named after the great poet! He adds that steps were then being taken to replace it by a stone bridge. The stone bridge that still spans the river was begun in 1829, and finished in 1831. It was constructed at the expense of Raja Patni Mal (who is supposed to have obtained his title on account of this work), the grandson of Raja Khiyali Ram, "over the Karamnasa river for the benefit of mankind and to preserve the pious pilgrim from contamination in its forbidden waters"....." with the approbation of the Right Hon'ble Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General of India, and with the assistance of James Prinsep, Esq. and Captain William Grant in furnishing the design", as an English inscription on the bridge tells us (7). The great James Prinsep was Assay Master at the Benares mint when he prepared the plans of this "holy bridge" (धर्मसेतु). The old legend explaining why it means defilement to any Hindu to touch the water of this river is so well known that it need not be quoted here. Even Babur, who passed its mouth in April, 1529, writes in his Memoirs that Hindus "firmly believe that if its water touch a person the merit of his works is destroyed". Hence the name *Karma-nasa*, which means "destruction of (meritorious) acts." The name "Shakespearian" is explained by Captain Mundy in his

(6) Voyage dans l'Inde, Paris, 1841, Tome 1, p. 327.

(7) The Persian and (corrupt) Sanskrit inscriptions on this bridge are also very interesting.

Pen and Pencil Sketches. Travelling between Subathu and Simla in 1828, (8) he passed a hill stream across which there was 'a hanging bridge of ropes, an ingenious invention of Mr. Shakespear (9) late Postmaster-General'. Shakespear's invention led to the creation of a special appointment for the supervision of the construction of such bridges, a post he himself held for four years. His bridge over the Karamnasa can have had but a very short life, before it was superseded by the stone bridge. Other bridges of this type, however, were destined to survive much longer. In the nineties of last century I drove on several occasions over two of the old suspension bridges, one across the Durgavati river in Shahabad, seven miles each of the Karamnasa bridge, and the other over the Punpun near Siris in the Gaya district. These bridges were then so old and shaky as to be quite unsafe for heavy loads, such as elephants, guns, etc., which had to be taken across by a diversion at one side, through the water. I remember well the one over the Punpun, which was dismantled about 1899. It was suspended on heavy wrought iron rods, linked by pins; at the abutment at each end of the bridge these suspension rods passed through the top of a massive arched portal of stone masonry, and thence down to their anchorage in rear of the abutment. The view reproduced (facing page 24) is from a photograph (10) taken at the time this old bridge was being replaced by the present iron girder bridge on two piers, and shows what it was like. The suspension bridge over the Durgavati was of a similar type. The huge masonry portals were quite a feature in the landscape, being visible for several miles. Sir Joseph Hooker mentions in his journal that, when marching along the road in February, 1848, he crossed the Punpun "by a pretty suspension bridge, of which the piers were visible two miles off".

Neither of these bridges are mentioned by Herklots, so they must have been built, or completed, after 1828. The stringers and flooring joists had probably been renewed from time to time, but the suspension parts may well have been about sixty years old: so these bridges were probably the last specimens of the Shakespearian type left along the line of the old road.

(8) Vol. I, p. 224. I am indebted for this reference to my friend Mr. V. H. Jackson, M.A., I.E.S.

Emma Roberts, in her letterpress to Captain Robert Elliott's *Views in India*, etc., 1835, Vol. I, p. 50, when describing the "Grass Rope Bridge at Terec", writes:—"Suspension bridges formed of grass ropes, the simple, useful, and elegant invention of the rude mountaineers of the Himalaya, are of considerable antiquity in the provinces where they are found: they are said to have given the original hint to the chain bridges of Europe and to those which Mr. Shakespear has constructed so much to the public advantage in India".

(9) Colin Shakespear, I.E.L.C.S., arrived in India in 1790. He was Collector of Saharanpur from 1813 to 1818, and may have visited Garhwal or the adjoining hill country during that period. In March, 1821, he became Postmaster-General; and in April, 1824, was appointed "Superintendent-General of the Shakespearian Bridges", a post which he held till 1828. He died, at the age of 64, on the 6th April, 1835, at Berhampore, and was buried at Sonamukhi.

(10) The photograph was taken by Mr. E. Blaber, the P. W. D. Engineer who dismantled the old bridge, and by whose courtesy I am able to reproduce it.

Herklots adds an interesting table of "Rates of Travelling by Dawk Bearers" i.e., by *palki*, which shows that the rate charged was eight annas per mile. For instance, the distance from Calcutta to Sherghati is given as 306 miles, and the amount payable for the journey, Rs. 153; the distance to Sasaram as 362 miles, and the charge Rs. 181 (11). Three days' notice had to be given by passengers intending to travel to either of these places. The following note is appended to his table:—"The charges for bearers to and from places not mentioned in the preceding tables, or which is not fixed, shall be at the rate of eight (8) annas per mile, including the cost of oil and mushalls (12). The amount of stationing bearers to be paid in advance, with an advance of four (4) annas per mile, which shall be refunded if demurrage is not incurred on the road by travellers. In consequence of the difficulties experienced in procuring bearers at the stations bordering on the dominions of Oude and beyond the British frontiers, the charge will be at one (1) rupee per mile. Persons wishing to travel in the Eastern Division, viz., from Calcutta to Dacca, etc., are liable to the additional charges above stated, Bearers not being otherwise procurable". Though Herklots does not mention this, the control of these arrangements was vested in the Post Office authorities. It was the Postmaster-General who published the rates in respect of the old military road, rates which remained in force after the Grand Trunk Road came to be used in its stead, and till the introduction of other modes of conveyance that superseded the use of *palkis* carried on men's shoulders.

As the names of the "dawk stages" given by Herklots are of much assistance in tracing the exact line of this interesting old road, a copy of the details furnished in respect of the portion between Calcutta and Sherghati is given in Appendix A below. Briefly stated, after crossing the Hooghly between Calcutta and Salkhea, the road ran north-west through Kalipur, practically following the line of the present Howrah-Sheakhala Light Railway, past Seakhala and Jagjibanpur, crossing the Damodar near Champadanga and the Darkeshvar near Arambagh (until 1900 called Jahanabad), and so on *via* Khatul and Kotampur to Vishnupur. From Vishnupur it followed the line of the present metalled road through Bankura and Chhatna to Dalpur, and thence across the Bankura boundary to Gaurandi and on to Raghunathpur in the Manbhum district (13). From Raghunathpur it took a more westerly direction, through Dubra, Chandankiari, Chandra and Chas to the Hazaribagh border. So far it is not very difficult to trace the route with the aid of old maps and the semaphore towers that are marked on the

(11) The "palkie dawk" rates given by Carey in his *Good Old Days* (Vol. I, Chap. XXXII), which are rather more than double the rates given by Herklots, apparently refer to the *horse palki dawk*.

(12) *Mash'al* (Ar. مشعل), a torch.

(13) It is curious that there is a tradition still persistent in Manbhum that the road in that district had been constructed by Ahalya Bai (daughter-in-law of Malhar Rao Holkar). Why the name of this good woman should have been associated with it, is difficult to imagine, except that she had constructed many works of public utility in other parts of India.

Revenue Survey sheets, and are still standing in many places along the line on either side. In Hazaribagh district the problem was not so simple, as here the old road has been more or less completely obliterated, the route taken by it not being followed by any existing road, except perhaps between Hazaribagh and Katkamsandi. Remnants of one or two of the old bridges can yet be found. But with the aid of the semaphore towers, still standing on prominent hills, and Tassin's map of Bengal and Bihar with Benares (1841) the line may be traced with fair accuracy. As regards this district I am indebted to Mr. W. McKenna, District Engineer, for an excellent skeleton map showing the probable line of the road as running *via* Khatri, Angwali, Gumia, Chatro, Tutki, Kemu, Silwar, Hazaribagh, Katkamsandi, Indra, Sindwari, Kanhachatti, and then going northwards not far from Kendi to the Dhangain pass. Mr. McKenna marks no less than ten semaphore towers still standing on hills or eminences on either side of the route, right across the district. In the Gaya district also the old line of road has become almost completely obliterated by the many hill streams and the encroachment of the jungle. In this district there are still five semaphore towers standing, *viz.*, on Salga hill, W. of Dhangain, Sagaha hill, S. E. of Sherghati, at Baliari, Bazidpur and Barun. I have not been able so far to trace the orders under which, or the exact years in which, the towers were constructed. They are usually ascribed to the decade 1820-30, but I recollect reading somewhere that they were erected at the time of the third Maratha war (1817-19). They have been described by various names, such as "Telegraph towers", "Signal stations", and "Semaphore towers", the last being that generally used by the Revenue Survey officers. The object of their construction was to provide a means of rapid communication between Calcutta and the upper provinces. They appear to have been wholly disused after the introduction of the electric telegraph; and I have not heard of any use being made of them since 1857-58 (14).

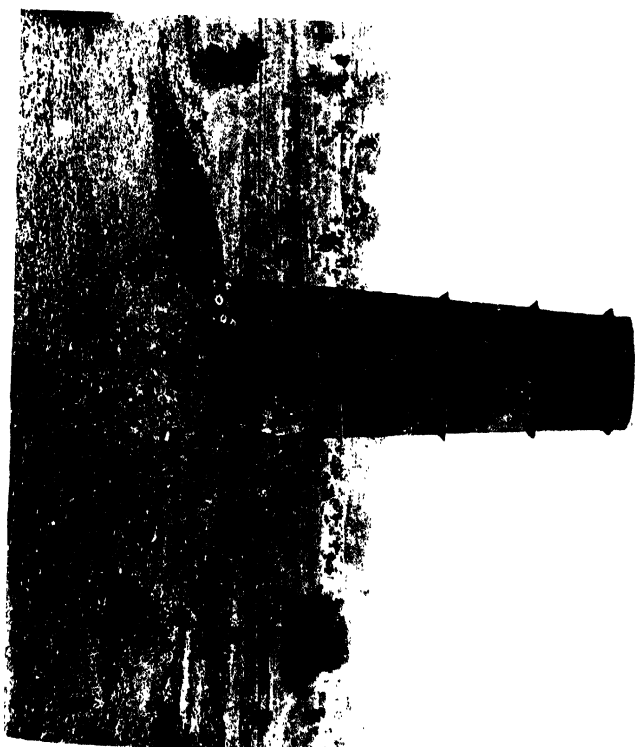
In 1838 there was published at the Military Orphan Press, Calcutta, a thin quarto entitled *Revised Tables of Routes and Stages through the Territories under the Presidency of Bengal, etc.* (15), compiled from documents in the office of the Quartermaster-General of the Bengal Army and from information obtained from Collectors and other local authorities. Table No. 177 deals with the road "From Fort William to Loodiana by Bancoorah, Hazareebagh and Benares" under the following headings:—(1) Territory; (2) Civil Authorities; (3) Names of Stages; (4) Distances in miles and furlongs; (5) Rivers; (6) Number of Nullahs; and (7) Remarks. The Shakespearian bridges are not referred to, nor the raised causeways; but the "pucca bridge" over the Karamnasa is mentioned. Between Calcutta and Sherghati only 28 stages are given, varying from 3 miles (between

(14) I am indebted to Mr. H. Wardle, Chief Engineer, Bihar and Orissa, for the photograph of the Semaphore Tower at Sindurpore in the Manbhum district between Chinpina and Chas, which is reproduced on the opposite page.

(15) There is a copy of this publication in the British Museum Library.



THE OLD SUSPENSION BRIDGE OVER THE
RIVER PURNĒA NEAR SĪRIS IN THE GAYĀ DISTRICT,
AFTER DISMANTLING OPERATIONS HAD BEGUN (1890).



Calcutta and Salkhea) to 16 miles (between Chas and Angwali). Only 16 of the stages correspond with those named in Herklots' list. Eighteen "Staging Bungalows" are shown, *viz.*, at Salkhea, Kotalpur, Rajbati, Bankura, Raghunathpur, Dobra, Chandankiari, Chas, Angwali, Gumia, Chatro, Digwar, Hazaribagh, Katkamsandi, Penarkon, Kanhachatti, Dhangain and Sherghati; so that some thirteen bungalows would seem to have been added on this length of road since Herklots published his work in 1828. The road is described as generally bad near the Damodar river, over which there was a ferry, and as "very bad" near Gumia and Penarkon: otherwise it is usually classed as good. The total distance to Sherghati works out at 298 miles, as compared with the 306 of Herklots. This difference does not appear to be due to any change in the line of route, as the road seems to follow exactly the same line. The difference may be caused by the omission of all fractions of a quarter of a mile, or may be due to remeasurement. The remarkable fact remains, however, that the distance by this road according to the Quartermaster-General's figures was only 6 or 7 miles longer than by the present Grand Trunk Road!

The roadway was originally 14 ft. broad; and whether it was ever widened to 20 ft., as recommended by the Military Board, is not clear. After Major Playfair's term of control expired in 1828, the condition of the road seems to have deteriorated rapidly. By 1837 we are told that of 58 bridges within the limits of the Hooghly district only 32 were standing, and "their arches were being fast worn away. The dak bungalows were out of repair, and the furniture in them was being stolen piece by piece or going to decay" (16).

Besides Sir Charles D'Oyly, whose delightful sketches of scenery along the "New Road" drawn in 1827 and 1828 have been referred to in the previous article, accounts of journeys by this route have been given us by several other travellers, among whom the following may be mentioned. Fanny Parks (17) passed along the road from bungalow to bungalow towards the end of 1826 with her husband, who was then Collector of Customs at Allahabad, driving in a buggy, or riding where the road was too steep or otherwise impracticable for the trap. The scenery in places charmed her, especially between Katkamsandi and Dhangain, which she describes as "most beautiful". At Dhangain she finds the following doggerel recorded in the visitors' book:—

"Dunghye! Dunghye! with hills so high,
A sorry place art thou;
Thou boasts not e'en a blade of grass,
Enough to feed an hungry ass,
Or e'en a half-starved cow".

A libel on the place, it should be added, which being close under the hills is comparatively well watered, and lies amidst enchanting scenery.

(16) Hooghly Gazetteer, 1912, p. 196.

(17) *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, 1850.

In November, 1827, Captain Mundy travelled along the road in the capacity of aide-de-camp to Lord Combermere, then Commander-in-Chief. Between Raghunathpur and Hazaribagh he says the jungle was "swarming with wild beasts." When half way down the ghat above Dhangain, he writes: "I was suddenly and rudely awakened from a dozing sleep by the shock of my palankeen coming to the ground, and by the most discordant shouts and screams. I jumped out to ascertain the cause of the uproar, and found on enquiry, that a foraging party of tigers—probably speculating upon picking up a straggling bearer—had sprung off the rocks, and dashed across the road, bounding between my palankeen and that of Colonel D., who was scarcely ten yards ahead... A dak hurkarah [post messenger] had been carried off in the same spot two days before..." (18).

Emma Roberts (19) in describing the dangers of the jungle and passes when travelling "by dak", evidently had in mind experiences of this road, along which she seems to have journeyed between 1828 and 1831.

The greatest defect in the alignment of the old military road was, that between Salkhea and Bankura it ran right across the drainage areas of the Damodar and Dhalkisor rivers, and so had to pass over the innumerable channels taking off from these rivers that intersect the low country. Filling up during the rainy season, these channels not only formed serious impediments to traffic, but sudden floods were liable to damage the bridges or wreck the causeways. As early as 1804 steps were taken towards the survey of a new alignment of road in the direction of Burdwan, *via* Barrackpore and Hooghly, and this ultimately led to the establishment of the first section of the line afterwards adopted for the Grand Trunk Road. W. H. Carey (20) tells us that the road from Calcutta to Barrackpore was opened to the public in July, 1805. Then the portion from Hooghly onwards, *via* Pandua and Bainchi, seems to have been taken up. The first part had been completed before 1820, but it was then in such bad condition that it had to be reconstructed some years later, when it was metalled as far as Magra. In 1829 this new line of road was first used by troops, we are told, in preference to the "Military" road (21); but it is not stated how far they went along it—possibly up to Burdwan. By 1836 it had been metalled beyond Burdwan.

It appears probable that from about 1829 or 1830 the practice began of travelling along the new alignment as far as Burdwan, and then striking west across to Bankura, there joining the "Military" road, and following the latter onwards to Sherghati and Benares. That this was the case appears, not only from the local records, but also from a notice in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1838, (22) from which the following passage may be quoted:—

(18) *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, Vol. I, p. 5.

(19) *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII.

(20) *The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company*.

(21) *Hooghly Gazetteer*, 1912, p. 196, etc.

(22) *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXV, p. 141.

The following further evidence on the point may be noted. In J. B. Tassin's "New Map of the Country Fifty Miles round Calcutta" published in 1836, the old military road

" A new road is making to Benares, which, besides the convenience of the route, is less by 44 (23) miles, or eight hours in the dak run, than the present route by Bancoorah and Burdwan. The road passes through Burdwan, and thence direct on the saddle of the hill, keeping the Damoodar on the south, and never crosses it at all.....and descends into the Behar plains by a beautiful new ghaut, constructed by the sappers and miners, who have been nearly two years employed on it. This ghaut will be only 600 ft. elevation whilst the old and tedious ascent at Dungye [*i.e.* Dhangain] Ghaut was nearly 1,100 ft. Descending the plain, it unites with the old road at Shergotty, and thence to Benares the road has been now constructed and strengthened. There is by far the most magnificent and extensive iron bridge in India on the line; but the other bridges remain to be furnished, as well as the stoning of the road."

We know that the road had been metalled by then to some place beyond Burdwan, so the remainder, *vis.*, the portion over the plateau and across the plain country from Dhanwa to Benares, was evidently still all unmetalled in 1838.

Proposals for improving the road communication with the north-west the whole way from Calcutta to Delhi, seem to have received the close attention of Lord William Bentinck and his Government towards the end of 1831. It is not till then that we see the conception of the Grand Trunk Road taking form, fifty years after Warren Hastings had started work on the New Military Road to Chunargarh. The enormous length of road concerned had necessarily to be taken up in sections. Work on the several portions was not started simultaneously while the time occupied in completing the roadway and constructing all the bridges varied still more widely. For instance, on the Allahabad-Delhi section, 23 miles were completed during the year 1832, with the assistance of some 2,800 convicts (24). The portion between Hooghly (or rather Magra, as the road had already been metalled as far as this in 1830) and Benares seems to have been taken in hand at the end of 1832 or the beginning of 1833. In all the old accounts of the Grand Trunk Road, we find the name of Lord William Bentinck associated with it. In fact he earned the sobriquet of "William the Con-

vid Salkhea, Jahanabad, Kotalpur and Bankura, etc., is shown (by a double line) as the then main road to Benares. This road in fact is shown as a main road. Another main road is marked as running from Calcutta to Barrackpore. Whereas the road *vid* Ghoretty, Hooghly, Magra, Pandua, etc., to Burdwan is shown by a single line only, *i.e.*, as an inferior road.

Again, in the *Revised Tables of Routes and Stages* (1838) full details, *e.g.*, names of rivers, numbers of nullahs, and other notes and remarks, are entered in respect of the old military road, but these details are not given in the case of the route "From Fort William to Delhi by the New Line of Road" (*i.e.*, the Grand Trunk Road), the fair presumption being that all these details were not yet known in respect of this new line. It seems obvious that this latter route had not up to that time been generally used by troops marching up country.

(23) This is incorrect, as will be seen later: the actual difference in length was very small.

(24) *Alexander's East India Magazine*, Vol. VI (1833), pp. 283-4.

queror " from contemporary wits, because *kankar* (calcareous nodules) was used as the top layer of the metalling! After his departure from India the pace seems to have slackened. By 1836 the road had been completed in a fashion, at all events to a point beyond Burdwan; and by 1838 the section passing through the Hazaribagh district is said to have been made; but this latter portion had probably not been metalled, as in 1841 the Military Board reported that when the work then in hand had been finished, 203½ miles between Burdwan and Benares would be metalled, leaving 137¼ miles "which it is believed will not require this operation". As nearly all of the road across the alluvial plain from the foot of Dhanwa ghat to Benares would have to be metalled to render it passable after rain, it looks as if it had then been intended to leave unmetalled the portion across the Chutia Nagpur uplands, where the ground was stony or hard. Still almost all the larger bridges remained to be built. Captain P. Wallis seems to have been appointed Superintendent of this section about this time, and Lieutenant (afterwards General) Beadle became his assistant in 1843.

William Tayler tells us that when Lord Hardinge became Governor-General he took a military view of the importance of the road, determining to have the work expedited and efficiently completed, and the bridges still wanting provided. In 1844-5 Lieutenant Beadle "was placed in executive charge of a large portion of the road, with orders to bridge the road between the two crossings of the Barakar river in two years and-a-half—a work involving the construction of fifty bridges" (25). Beadle continued in charge for several years. Sir J. Hooker spent two days with him at Belkapi in February, 1848. By 1853 the fine stone bridge of 15 arches of 50 feet each over the Lilajan river, 7 miles east of Sherghati, once so much admired but destined not to last, had been completed. This river is peculiarly liable to sudden high floods, when trees uprooted higher up are swept down with the current. One of these spates destroyed the old bridge, and others have wrecked successors in the shape of raised stone causeways. Yet, according to the writer of the article in the *Calcutta Review* of that year, there were still eight bridges wanting between Calcutta and Benares. When all these were provided, it is difficult to ascertain; but meanwhile the road had come into full use. We have already seen that the sappers and miners had been working for two years (1836-7) on the pass leading down from Chauparan in the Hazaribagh district to Dhanwa in the Bihar (now Gaya) district. By 1838 the road had so far progressed that "stages" had been fixed all along the line. In the *Revised Tables of Routes*, etc., already quoted, *vide* Table "No. 177 From Fort William to Delhi by the New Line of Road" (p. 170), we find 26 Stages shown between Calcutta and Sherghati. These are military encamping grounds, and must not be confounded with staging or dak bungalows, nearly all of which had yet to be provided. The sites were selected at an average distance of about 11 miles apart. They are all shown on Joseph's map of the Grand Trunk Road (1855). By 1838, therefore, the whole line was nearing completion, and perhaps troops were

(25) Tayler : *Thirty-eight Years in India*, Vol. I, p. 461.

starting to use it. By 1840 troops, and probably ordinary passengers also, had apparently ceased to use the old military road. Thenceforward the Grand Trunk Road became the great highway to the north-west, and according as it was improved and bridged, became the wonder and admiration of all who passed along it. An enthusiastic correspondent of the *Asiatic Journal* in 1838 described it as "a noble work", and adds "the jungle is disappearing, and fine tracts of excellent land are being discovered. A hardy, but docile race of people are native to the soil, and with care, encouragement and management, this heretofore *terra incognita* might be made a paradise to the Dungahs [*i.e.*, Dhangars], and a valuable acquisition to the state".

Even this road was soon to be eclipsed by the construction of the East Indian Railway, the first 120 miles of which, from Calcutta to Raniganj, were opened to traffic in February, 1855. It was some years before the Loop Line, that followed the Ganges round the hills by Rajmahal, Bhagalpur and Monghyr, was in working order. Meanwhile the Grand Trunk Road continued to carry all the up-country traffic beyond Raniganj as far as Allahabad (the railway from Allahabad to Cawnpore having been opened in 1856).

We have now seen, to restate the facts briefly, that the old Military Road to Benares held the field without a rival for some fifty years. Then a competitor, that started with the road to Barrackpore opened in 1804, grew up piecemeal, until, when it had reached Burdwan it took the place of the old road across the plains of Lower Bengal, and the traffic followed it as far as Burdwan, and thence crossed to Bankura, where it rejoined the old line. This "dual" route was used for 8 or 10 years, when the old road fell into complete disuse. The Grand Trunk then monopolised the traffic for some 15 years, when the introduction of railways entirely altered the conditions of locomotion.

Before concluding the comparison between the roads, it may be of interest to give some figures of relative length and cost. According to Rennell's Tables of routes, the distance from Calcutta to Benares by the original road by the side of the Bhagirathi and Ganges was about 686 miles. Herklots, in 1828, notes that it was 570 miles by the "old route", meaning one of the cross roads (not specified) through Burdwan. His figures for the New Military Road total 436 miles to Benares. The Quartermaster-General's figures of 1838 show the distance to Benares by this road as about 429 miles. The distance by the Grand Trunk Road is 421 miles. James Crawford's estimate of the cost of making the Military Road was "about 600 rupees per mile", or calculating roughly at the old conventional rate of Rs. 10 to the pound, £60 per mile: and this was the cost sanctioned by Hastings' government. W. H. Carey tells us that the cost of the Grand Trunk Road was "about £1,000 a mile", and it is doubtful whether this included all the bridges. Moreover it has to be remembered that convict labour was largely employed upon its construction.

The first good map of the Grand Trunk Road was published by Charles Joseph in 1855, on a scale of 4 miles—1 inch, entitled "A New and

Improved Map of the First Portion of the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Benares". It showed all the government staging bungalows, encamping grounds, overseers' "road choukey bungalows", horse and dak chaukis, post offices and thanas along the road. For any student of the history of the road this map is most valuable; but as far as the bungalows and other buildings are concerned even it is now quite out of date.

Readers who are interested in the evolution of the old methods of travel in India will find much useful information in an article in the July-December, 1853, volume of the *Calcutta Review* as the following extracts will show. It will be noticed that the writer was impressed with the superiority of the arrangements in the N.-W. Provinces.

"In the N.-W. Provinces, police chaukis are located within hail of each other, along every two miles of the road; and in Bengal they have lately adopted this good practice. There is also a *European Overseer* of roads stationed at every fifty miles..... the *dak bungalows*.....line the road at an average distance of twelve miles.....knives and forks, plates, spoons.....are furnished.....while a khansama cook, bhisti, mehter are also provided by Government.....hot water, milk, chapatis, grilled-fowl, curry, eggs are obtainable at all, and in some you may procure mutton, kid, champagne, beer etc. etc.....the days of palkis, of *demurrages*, and *dishonest pitarra-wallahs* are passed, on the whole route from Calcutta to Delhi we meet with few travellers by them..... There is another mode of travelling—marching *à la militaire* twelve miles daily, having to take a tent, servant, hackeries, utensils of all sorts with a chance of waking up in the morning and finding all your wearing apparel and money carried off by thieves.....We can now roll along by the aid of those companies [i.e. Transit Companies] at an average of six miles per hour, or 100 miles daily, allowing four hours' stoppage, changing the position at pleasure.....These gharis serve as sitting-rooms by day, as bed-rooms by night, as a wardrobe, a library, and a kitchen..... Horses are changed at about every six miles, and coachmen at sixty..

The system of travelling by *horse dak* originated, as almost all improvements have done, in connection with the Government of the N.-W. Provinces. Ten years ago, Mr. Riddel the present Postmaster-General of the N.-W. Provinces, and Dr. Paton, late Postmaster of Alighur, commenced the plan (26). Trucks drawn by one horse, and conveying a palanquin, were first employed; but they soon gave way to the convenient palkighari.... (The) Inland Transit Company formed in 1849, for

(26) Carey says "The system of conveying passengers by palkee, carriages and trucks was first established between Cawnpore and Allahabad in May, 1843, and extended to Allypore in November of the same year".

a horse dak on the road.....was started by a native, Tantimul, the famous contractor of the Allahabad and Cawnpur boat bridges.....from Calcutta to Burhi they have nine horses at every stage, six from that to Benares, and four from Benares to Meerut.....they have reduced their fares in 1852, above Benares, from four annas to two annas a mile, and below from five annas to three annas. In 1850 Mr. Atkinson started a rival company, but he soon failed.....after him Mr. Probett of Cawnpur.....and then the *North West Dak Co.*, a Calcutta Company, *but* well managed, providing excellent carriages, and good horses.....employs 600 syces, 200 suwars, 80 native writers, 60 coachmen, and 20 European overseers.....(their) operations extend 1,200 miles.....letters reached Calcutta from Benares all last hot season in 52 hours instead of 120....."

So many travellers have left on record their impressions of journeys by the Grand Trunk Road, that it must suffice to refer to one or two of the earlier accounts. One of the most fascinating is that given by Sir J. D. Hooker in the first two chapters of his *Himalayan Journals*. An earlier description, which furnishes more detail of the actual mode of travel, is contained in the Revd. William Buyers' *Recollections of Northern India*. When he went up the road (about 1846) there were no public conveyances for passengers on the Bengal section. Small carts had just been introduced for the mails only, which until then had been carried by runners, just as they are still carried in many parts of the mufassal. The traveller had to provide his own palanquin, and obtain relays of bearers at each stage from the post office authorities, paying beforehand, and making a deposit to cover "demurrages", as of old. "The torch bearer", he writes, "persists in running on the windward side"! "It takes, usually, about five days to reach Benares, without any other stoppage, save what may be necessary for refreshment. The distance accomplished per day is rather less than a hundred miles". But the old system was very soon to be changed. When William Tayler travelled up the road in the cold weather of 1847-8, his wife was accommodated in an "equi-rotal carriage, a sort of palankeen on four wheels of equal size (hence the name) which had lately been brought into fashion on the Trunk Road, in lieu of the old palanquin". Tayler gives a sketch of the conveyance, which was not drawn by a horse, nor yet by a pair of bullocks, but dragged in front and pushed from behind by "bearers", just as the quaint "push-push", so familiar to old residents of Chutia Nagpur, was (and is perhaps still) propelled along the roads.

And now the shriek of the motor horn is heard all along this great road, in place of the pious, thankful, call of "Ram! Ram!" Can we wonder why the officers of olden days knew the country more intimately than their modern successors?

APPENDIX A.

(Extract from Herklots' Illustrations of the Roads throughout Bengal, etc.)

LIST OF DAK STAGES FROM CALCUTTA TO BENARES, NEW MILITARY ROAD.

No. of Stage.	NAMES.	Miles.	Furlongs.	Perches.	Staging Bungalows.	Principal Rivers and Torrents.	REMARKS.
	Calcutta ..	..	..	..	..	Hooghly River ..	
1	Collypore ..	10	4	13		Damoodah river ..	The new road to Sumbulpore <i>via</i> Singhboom strikes off at Jehanabad S. W. of Koolkie and East of the Dalkissore River.
2	Ellypore ..	9	7	..		Mundasurry Nuddie.	
3	Paharpore ..	9	6	39			
4	Russoolpore ..	9	6	38			
5	Koolkie ..	9	1	5		Dalkissore R. ..	
6	Bunmookah ..	9	7	20			
7	Rajgong ..	10	..	37		Berai Torrent ..	A Shakespearian Bridge 160 feet Span by 94 Bissenpore 20 miles East of Bancoorah at Berai.
8	Bissenpore ..	9	7	38			
9	Owndah ..	9	6	..		Dalkissore River.	The road to Miunapore strikes off S. W. of Bissenpore. Much jungle between Bissenpore and Owndah.
10	Bootsheer or Bancoorah.	9	5	18	B		
11	Chatnah ..	9	4	15		....	The road from Bancoorah to Burdwan is <i>via</i> Sonamooke. A Shakespearian Bridge of 162 ft. by 5 ft., 16 miles W. of Bancoorah, at Dungara.
12	Arrarah ..	9	6	..		(Near Arrah Dungara Torrent).	
13	Gourandie ..	9	2	..			
14	Ragoonauthpore.	9	3	..			
15	Doolenabad ..	8	..	27			
16	Amchattar ..	9	2	25			
17	Chandra ..	9	2	1			
18	Chass ..	9	5	28	B	Damoodah River.	The Damoodah River is about half a mile broad.
19	Keenaree ..	9	7	28		Bookaroo Nuddie.	
20	Bussareah ..	10	6	4		Bulbul River.	At Toolkie Ghaut between Rockingah and Hazareebaugh the ascent is steep.
21	Goomeah ..	10	..	..	
22	Ghootee ..	8	5	31			

No. of Stage.	NAMES.	Miles.	Furlongs.	Perches.	Staging Bungalows.	Principal Rivers and Torrents.	REMARKS.
23	Nurkhundy ..	8	4	20			
24	Rachingha ..	8	5	20		Konar Nuddie.	
25	Burrakurheh ..	9	6	..			
26	Jeelmah ..	9	9	9	B	....	A Shakespearian Bridge 112 ft. by 5 ft. 16½ miles W. of Hazareebaugh.
27	Kutkumsandy ..	9	..	10		Bearwah Torrent..	
28	Peenarkone ..	9	..	..	B		
29	Dungradie ..	10	4	..		Torrent Goosey Turreh.	A Shakespearian Bridge 147 ft. span by 9 30 miles. West of Hazreebaugh.
30	Dunghy Pass ..	10	4	..			
31	Amaroot ..	9	1	27			
32	Shehurgotty ..	9	2	..	B	Morhur River Lelajun River.	The road to Patna strikes off at Shehurgotty 24 miles to Gya and 84 to Patna.

APPENDIX B.

" SHAKESPEARIAN " ROPE BRIDGES.

The ingenious fabric erecting on the Esplanade, immediately opposite the General Post Office, seems to excite a good deal of speculation. It is, however, nothing more than a laudable attempt to introduce Hempen, or Coir Rope Bridges, on the principle of Suspension, with the view of eventually throwing them over some of the Mountain Torrents and Rapids, which intersect the great North-West Road to Benares, and which now check the progress of our Public Mails, from ten to twenty hours during the height of the periodical rains, when no boat or raft can attempt to cross until the water subsides. We have seen the small working Model constructed by the Post Master General; and as far as we are capable of judging, we believe the plan to be entirely new. If it succeeds, and we heartily wish it may, the advantages, in giving celerity to the Public Mails at a very inconsiderable expense, are too obvious to need any comment. The Model is constructed on a scale of 80 feet only, but the experiment now making is, we are told, one hundred and sixty feet between the standards, which require no pier heads, being placed back at a safe distance from the banks of the Nullah over which the Bridge is intended to be thrown. It is a particularly dangerous Torrent, about eighty miles from Calcutta, and within twenty of Bancoorah, on the Benares Road. The tread-way, constructed of split Bamboo, is eight or nine feet wide, over which foot passengers and light cattle, may pass in safety; and perhaps the scheme may be improved for carriages, especially where the span is within one hundred feet. The whole Machinery is so constructed,

as to render it easily portable on Carts, Elephants, &c. It may also be taken down and housed during eight months in the year, while the Rapids are dry, which will greatly tend to its durability.

We hope hereafter to give a more satisfactory description of this Rope Suspension Bridge, when the experiment is completed. In the meantime, we shall only add that all the component parts have been prepared, fitted, and put together at the General Post Office, under the personal direction and inspection of the Post Master General, who is indefatigable in his exertions to improve the important department under his management and control.—*Calcutta Gazette*, Thursday, March 6, 1823.

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT,
VOL. XXX.

Prepared for the Universal Magazine, first Station in the City Street.



View of FORT WILLIAM and GOVERNOR'S HOUSE, CALCUTTA, 1754.

OLD FORT WILLIAM AND THE "GOVERNOR'S HOUSE" IN 1754.

Lord Curzon's Book.

AMONG the many distinguished holders of the office of Governor-General of India who have made Calcutta their home, none have taken a deeper or more genuine pride in the traditions of the city than Lord Curzon of Kedleston. He was her devoted servant, in every sense of the phrase. To him she owes the Imperial Library, the Victoria Memorial Hall, the restoration of the Holwell obelisk, and the transformation into a pleasure-garden of the untidy plot of ground which disfigured the eastern portion of the Esplanade. The identification of the outlines of Old Fort William, and the commemoration of historic houses, were likewise his work. There was no more enthusiastic member of the Calcutta Historical Society and no more diligent or appreciative reader of *Bengal: Past and Present*, of which he was proud to possess a complete series. It is no secret that he bitterly resented the transfer in 1912 of the Capital of British India to "the crumbling graveyards of Delhi." That is a matter of controversy which it would not be proper to introduce into the pages of a journal such as this: but it may safely be affirmed that no Viceregal ukase can rob Calcutta of the glories of the past. For a century and a half she was the central seat of the British Government in India: and it cannot be denied that she is nobly symbolical of that high position. There is everything in Calcutta to remind her citizens and to impress upon the stranger within her gates that the British Raj stands personified in her imposing buildings, her restless enterprise, and her stately monuments.

The love of Calcutta took early hold of the mind of Lord Curzon. At the inaugural meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society on April 27, 1907, a letter from him was read, in the course of which he wrote:

I am glad to hear of your effort to interest people in the historical associations of Calcutta. There is no subject of the class more worthy of attention or more full of romance. There is also no subject more commonly neglected and, I had almost said, despised. How many of the residents of Calcutta, I wonder, are aware of the exact spot where Warren Hastings fought his duel with Francis, of the identity of the various houses at Alipore which were owned or lived in by Hastings, of the house in which William Makepeace Thackeray was born, of the different buildings which were occupied as Council Houses by the Government of India, of the strange and romantic history of the big house at Kidderpore. I devoted myself more particularly while in India to collecting the materials for a history of the two Government Houses, in Calcutta and at Barrackpore, always intending to work them up in the form of a book. I hardly know whether

I shall ever find time for this: but the raw material is in my possession.

The project foreshadowed in 1907 has at length materialized in 1925. But by a cruel stroke of fate, Lord Curzon has not lived to see the publication of his book (1). Its two magnificent volumes represented more to him than the honours and dignities which were heaped upon him. The preparation of the book, he told his publisher a month before his death, had been a big part of his life. "It is my great book: I do not suppose I shall ever write another, and I have given to it unceasing years of labour. In a way, it is a child—a child I am proud of." Among the many letters received by the present writer from him, in which he sought for the verification of references and endeavoured to bring his information up to date, there is scarcely one from which this note of almost paternal affection and pride is absent. The book, he wrote in February last, "will give material for *Bengal: Past and Present*, to write about for years to come." He was fully justified in the claim. There is hardly a matter in connexion with the history of Calcutta which has not been probed to its depths, and in many instances an entirely fresh light has been thrown upon a vexed problem of topography. So abundant are the riches which he has provided that this review cannot pretend to do more than merely plunge at random into the treasure-chest.

Wellesley's majestic Government House furnishes Lord Curzon, naturally enough, with his opening theme: but he has also much that is new to say regarding the early residences of the Governors-General. Job Charnock and his successor Francis Ellis, are pictured as living in a thatched hut near the riverside. Here the "unconscious forerunner and father of dominion" smoked his hookah and did his huckstering with his Indian neighbours. All trace of this humble dwelling which stood at a considerable distance from the factory, has disappeared. It was accidentally burned down in December 1694 (2) and its contents were sold by public outcry for Rs. 575 (3).

(1) British Government in India: The Story of the Viceroys and Government Houses: by the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, K. G., Viceroy and Governor-General of India from January 1899 to May 1904, and again from December 1904 to November 1905. (London, Cassell and Company, Ltd.: Two Volumes: Three Guineas net or Rupees Fifty-Five and Annas Two).

(2) Charnock died on January 10, 1693: "armiger Anglus et nuper in hoc regno Bengalensi dignissimus Anglorum Agens", as the inscription upon his tombstone in St. John's churchyard records. The burning of "the House in which Agent Charnock formerly liv'd and lately Mr. Ellis" and the sale are noted in the Chuttanuttee Diary and consultations for April 8, 1695.

(3) Lord Curzon observes in this connexion: "The factory itself in those days was merely the pukka cutchery of the Mazumdar jagirdars: and accommodated the Company's official staff and records." But the contemporary evidence does not support him.

Sir John Goldsborough writes on October 20, 1693 (Hedges' Diary, Vol. II, p. xciv): "Upon Mr. Walshe's house bought for the Company, I intend to build upon the 2 Tarrasses 4 Rooms or chambers; that I may bring in the Accomptant and the Secretairie and the books and papers in their charge within the brick house, which now lay scattering about in Thatched Houses lyable to the hazard of fire every day."

The first actual Government House was a poor structure of brick and mud to the north of the present Custom House: and it was here that Charles Eyre, the son-in-law of Charnock, had his abode. It was pulled down in 1706, after suffering severe injury from storms; and adequate residence at last provided in the southern portion of Old Fort William. The new "Governor's House" was a "handsome regular structure" and occupied three sides of a rectangle, looking towards the east. Its main facade which was 245 feet long, faced the river and a colonnade, clearly indicated in Wills's plan of 1753, ran from the main entrance to the principal water-gate. A smaller ghaut stood near the north-west bastion: and it was here that Siraj-ud-daulah made his entrance into the Fort on the evening of June 20, 1756. The historic interview with Holwell and the survivors of the Black Hole on the following morning took place on the grass outside the eastern verandah of the house, when Holwell was given a large folio volume to sit upon and was questioned about the treasure which the Nawab had failed to find (4).

The next Government House, which was known as the Company's House, stood outside the Fort and to the south of it. It was a three-storeyed building and must have been acquired before 1742. It is plainly marked in the position indicated in a plan of Calcutta of that year. During the siege it did duty as an outpost. In 1767 this Government House was reported to be "in a decayed and ruinous condition," and shortly afterwards the grounds were converted into a Bankshall or Marine yard, which gives its name to the adjoining street. The actual site is divided between the office of the Military Accounts department and one of the old opium godowns.

In December 1769 the house of one Carvalho was purchased for Eyre Coote: and in January 1761 it passed into the possession of Henry Vansittart, who was Governor from 1760 to 1764. Lord Curzon places this house in the cul-de-sac running to the south out of Dalhousie Square which is known as Vansittart Row. Vansittart also bought a Garden House which Lord Curzon definitely identifies with the modern Loretto convent in Middleton Row. This house had been the property of William Frankland, one of the Members of Council who escaped from the Fort before its capture, and it cost Arcot Rs. 10,000 (5) which Vansittart had to pay out of his own pocket.

Clive, as we know, was twice Governor of Fort William: from June 27, 1758, to January 28, 1760, and again from May 3, 1765, to January 29,

(4) Holwell mainly attributes to Omichund the severity with which he and the other survivors were treated: and letters in the records show that when after the battle of Plassey the money sent to Calcutta was about to be distributed, a vigorous protest was made against any payment to Omichund, "because it is well known he was the chief instigator of the massacre of the Black Hole."—Forrest, *Life of Clive*, Vol. I, p. 330.

(5) The *bhari* or Company's Arcot rupee was coined at Calcutta and was in value $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent less than the *sicc.* rupee, which again bore to the Company's rupee the proportion of 16 to 15.

1767. During the first period he lived in a house belonging to Huzuri Mal, the executor of Omichund; and when he returned he resided in the buildings on the Esplanade which were known as the New Council House and which are described by Hastings as "the habitation of former Governors". Lord Curzon admits that tradition strongly points to the house in Clive Street, subsequently inhabited by Francis, and now covered by the site of the Royal Exchange, and mentions also the claim put in on behalf of Messrs. Graham and Company's present premises in the same street. But he does not accept the view that after the recovery of Calcutta, no official residence was assigned for the use of the Governor.

The fourth Government House, was, then, the more westerly of the two buildings shewn in the sketches of Daniell and Baillie and in the plans of 1785 and 1792. It was erected in 1764 or 1765 as a Council House and stood in what is now the south-west corner of Government House compound immediately abutting on Council House Street, to which it gave its name. Warren Hastings in a minute dated February 9, 1775, makes it quite clear that from 1772 to 1775 he was "accommodated in the present Council House, which was entirely occupied by him for a dwelling". He then removed to the larger building which adjoined it on the east, and which was leased by the Company from Mahomed Raza Khan. But there was yet another building to the east, known as Buckingham House, in which Hastings eventually resided, while using the rented house for public entertainments. This is Lord Curzon's fifth Government House.

The sixth was the building within the modern Fort William which is now used as a soldiers' institute. It was here that Cornwallis lived; and also Wellesley while his Palace was under construction. But Lord Curzon quotes a passage from Burford's "Views of Calcutta" (1830) which goes to show that Wellesley had also a suite of rooms in "the house adjoining the Treasury Buildings" which was "connected with it by a kind of bridge or covered gallery". He was certainly staying there on the night of the great Ball on January 26, 1803, although the State entry into the new Government House had been made on April 20, 1802. His usual residence, however, while the building was in progress, was Barrackpore.

Lord Curzon examines with a profusion of detail the circumstances in which the new, or modern Government House came into being. The model taken was Kedleston House in Derbyshire; and no secret is made of the fact that it was the correspondence between the two houses which planted in Lord Curzon, from an early age, the ambition to pass to a Kedleston in Bengal. Both the old Government House (which was bought from the Chitpore Nawab for Rs. 1,07,733) and the Council House were pulled down; and the total cost of erection, including the purchase of adjoining lands and houses, and the laying out of two new streets (Government Place, North and Wellesley Place) amounted (according to the Governor-General's own figures) to sicca Rs. 13,01,286 or £162,660, taking the sicca rupees at two shillings and sixpence. The outlay on furniture absorbed a further

sicca Rs. 50,000, or £6,250. A total expenditure of some £170,000 was thus involved, a mere bagatelle, observes Lord Curzon, compared with the sums which have been, and will be, spent upon the erection of the new Viceregal Lodge at Delhi. The Directors, nevertheless, were aghast: and their censure was as emphatic as it was ineffective.

A whole chapter is devoted to a description of the exterior and the grounds; and another to the interior and its contents. Of the exterior, we may note that until about the year 1870, there was hardly a tree or a plant in the enclosure which, Calcutta residents may be surprised to hear, covers rather more than twenty-six acres. Lady Canning in 1857 was able to obtain an uninterrupted view from her room of the soldiers firing a *feu de joie* from the rampart of Fort William. As regards the interior, we learn that an attempt to restore the *chunam* to the pillars in the Marble Hall failed. The art has decayed even in Madras, its traditional home. Lord Curzon scoffs at the legend that the busts of the Twelve Caesars (which have happily been spared) were at one time among the ornaments of the Assembly room at the Old Court House and accompanied the portraits of Louis XV and his queen to Government House. Similiar busts are to be seen at Kedleston, and "the series of Caesars whether in marble or in plaster, was a familiar feature of the Palladian architecture of the eighteenth century." The tragic fate of the beautiful canopy in the Throne-room, which was copied under Lord Curzon's orders from the canopy in the Royal Palace at Munich, is related with emotion. When Lord Hardinge forsook Calcutta for Delhi, he ordered a sale by auction of the less important furniture—"a proceeding which excited much adverse comment"—and directed the removal of the more conspicuous articles. "Small regard was paid to their ultimate use or destruction": and eleven years later, the tattered remains of the canopy were discovered after prolonged search in a godown at Simla. The pictures have happily been treated with more reverence: and have been distributed among the Viceroy's three residences at Simla, Delhi, and Belvedere. Government House has become an empty shell: but Lord Curzon has not sat still under the blow. "I am glad to think," he writes, "that the orders and purchases and gifts for which I have been in the main responsible since I returned to England have provided the Victoria Memorial Hall with a collection not inferior to any that existed on the walls of Government House and in some respects more representative and interesting".

Yet there was a time when it seemed as though that beautiful building of pure white marble would never come into existence. The Victoria Memorial Hall. In the eighth chapter Lord Curzon dwells upon the vicissitudes which attended the realization of his darling project. When he left India in 1905, the nucleus of the collection had been obtained, and the foundations had been well and truly laid. A year later he heard in London that his successor Lord Minto had taken back the pictures and other objects which had been loaned from Government House, and had returned their generous donations to the Indian Princes. The suspension of the building was even ordered on the alleged ground of the subsidence of the foundation.

"The whole fabric which I had toiled so hard to raise seemed destined to collapse." With the help of Lord Morley, who was then Secretary of State, and of the "Times," these lamentable proceedings "were arrested; but the danger was not yet past. It was next proposed that the Memorial should be transferred to Delhi, "that cemetery of dead monuments and forgotten dynasties," which may represent much but can never take the place of Calcutta as the embodiment of the British Raj in India. Another suggestion was that the building should be handed over to the Legislative Council and that the two beautiful loggias (which furnish so appropriate a setting for the statues of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis) should be roofed over! By way of background "the 'white elephant' reappeared from his ancient stable and lumbered heavily across the stage." Finally the remnants of the collection were ejected from Belvedere, where they had found a home, and were placed in an adjoining shed.

Upon any other man, this succession of storms would have fallen with crushing effect. Lord Curzon was not to be daunted: *si fractus illubatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae*: and on December 28, 1922, the building was opened by the Prince of Wales. Calcutta, it is to be hoped, has now learned to value the gift which the genius and persistence of this one man has bestowed upon her. "I have bequeathed something that will conquer death, and be better than gold."

'Of the restoration of the Holwell Monument, Lord Curzon's other legacy to Calcutta, a full account is given in the seventh chapter. The Holwell Obelisk. The issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XV, Serial No. 29) is unhappily out of print, in which Lord Curzon marshals all the evidence relating to the original Obelisk, and routs the small army of enthusiasts who have endeavoured to prove that the tragedy of the Black Hole was a figment of Holwell's imagination and that documentary evidence in favour of the existence of the Monument is either a hoax or a forgery. But all the authorities are again cited in these pages. The subject seems to have aroused him to a white heat of indignant enthusiasm: and as Taine said of Macaulay, *quand il frappe, il assomme*. Lord Curzon shows, by a continuous series of records covering the entire period from 1760 (when the Monument was put up) to 1821 (when it was taken down), firstly, that Holwell's Obelisk stood outside the eastern gate of the Fort where he himself had placed it: and secondly that for sixty years it was a prominent landmark of Calcutta which drew the attention of over a score of pens and pencils. The cumulative effect is complete. It is not credible that for upwards of half a century a monument should have been suffered to stand in a public place in Calcutta to commemorate a wholly fictitious event.

A special chapter is allotted to the various houses occupied by Warren Hastings in Calcutta: and here Lord Curzon is once more in his element. The Houses of Warren Hastings.

Among all the houses whose pretensions [to historical importance] I explored, those that interested me most were the various dwell-

ings, almost bewildering in their number, that claimed to have been inhabited at one time or another by Warren Hastings or his wife, the beloved and bewitching Marian. I found this study to be one of extreme but absorbing perplexity, partly because Warren Hastings had undoubtedly invested largely in real estate during his long residence in Calcutta, and had also unquestionably at different times lived in quite a number of different houses, whether official or private: and also because the evidence was in many cases obscure and baffling and had been greatly embroidered either by legend or by the riotous imagination of a later day.

As a result of his investigations, Lord Curzon sits in judgement upon no less than thirteen buildings which claim the honour of occupation by Hastings. During the period of his first residence in Calcutta as a member of Council and before he sailed for England in February, 1765, he acquired both a town house, and a garden house in the suburbs. Lord Curzon does not attempt to locate the town house which was sold in March 1764 for Arcot Rs. 16,000 to the Council "for the Nabob's reception on his arrival in Calcutta". The country house he places in the neighbourhood of Belvedere, for permission was obtained by Hastings in June 1763 "to build a bridge over the Collighaut (Kali Ghat) nullah on the road to his garden house:" and the possibility is hinted at that it formed the nucleus of the large estate at Alipore which is said to have been presented to him by Mir Jafar (6). When Hastings returned as Governor in 1772, he occupied as official residences the two buildings on the Esplanade, which we have become acquainted with as the Council House and Buckingham House. These stood side by side on the site of the compound of the present Government House. At the same time he leased a house on the west side of Old Post Office Street between the years 1775 and 1779: and no doubt it was here that the Baroness Imhoff lived before her marriage with the Governor-General in 1777. In February 1779 we find Hastings proposing to the Board that "the house, the property of the late Colonel Fortnom, be taken for the Company on a lease of one year to commence from the 15th July at a rent of sicca rupees 1,200 a month for the accommodation of the Governor-General." A notice of sale which appeared in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* on January 29, 1780 (7), permits of the positive identification of this house with the premises now known as 7 Hastings Street which were for so many years utilized by Messrs. Burn and Company as their business offices.

From the fact that the house was generally known as "Mrs. Hastings house" and that Hastings was in the habit of calling it "her house" in contradistinction to Buckingham House, his official residence, which was "his

(6) Mir Jafar is said to have resided in Calcutta in a lane in Putaldanga close to Mirzapore Street, which derives its name from him (A. K. Ray, *Short History of Calcutta*, p 51). An attempt is being made (1925) to change the name to College Row.

(7) "The estate of the late Colonel John Fortnom, the elegant house occupied by the Governor-General, and the Godowns, situate to the south of the old Burial Ground and Powder Magazine": landmarks now obliterated by St. John's churchyard.

house " (8), it has been supposed that the house belonged to her. But the title-deeds afford convincing proof that it was the town house of Hastings himself. It was here that he entertained his friends to dinners and concerts while giving his official parties at Government House and the ceremonial receptions at Christmas and on the King's birthday at the Old Court House. It was here too that he placed the beautiful portrait of his wife by Zoffany, which is now one of the chief glories of the Victoria Memorial Hall collection—and placed it so that when he awoke in the morning, it was the first object upon which his eyes would rest (9). But it was not here that he left the old black bureau containing some highly prized papers and miniatures, which forms the subject of repeated and anxious enquiries in his letters to Nesbitt Thompson, and which was never recovered. For it is clear from the terms of the advertisement inserted in the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 6, 1787, that the bureau was "about the time of Mr. Hastings' departure from Bengal either stolen from his house on the Esplanade, or by mistake sold at the auction of his effects." The house on the Esplanade was Buckingham house (10).

Lord Curzon next deals with the Governor-General's country houses. It is known, he says, that Hastings had a house at Alipore called Belvedere which was in the immediate vicinity of the modern mansion known by that name. We hear of him as residing there in April 1775, as giving a concert in February 1776, and as leasing it to Colonel Tolley in February 1778 (11). Hastings House however was his favourite haunt. It was "newly-built" in February 1778, when Mackrabie walked over to it after dinner

(8) On December 8, 1780, Hastings writes to his wife who was then staying at Chinsurah: "I have migrated to my own house, but the Lyon roars so noisily that, suspecting that he might disturb my Rest, I am returned to *our* Bed for the Night." By "my own house" Hastings meant Buckingham House, in the compound of which a lion had been placed which had been brought down from the Upper Provinces. In a watercolour by James Hunter, which has just been purchased for the Victoria Memorial Hall and which gives a view of the back of Buckingham House, the lion is shown in a cage surrounded by spectators.

(9) The portrait was painted in Calcutta before Mrs. Hastings' departure in January, 1784. In a letter to his wife of February 11 in that year, Hastings tells her that "My greatest Suffering arose from the Contemplation of the Picture before me as I lay on my Bed and the Reflection of the vast Distance which separated it from my Marian." It followed him to England. Nesbitt Thompson writes to Hastings on April 20, 1785: "By the *Cornwallis* went Mrs. Hastings' picture. It is a sublime performance. Zoffany does not usually excel in the delineation of female beauty, but here his subject has given him new powers." On March 20, 1787, Hastings informs him that the picture had been packed so negligently that it "arrived almost spoiled": and Zoffany was commissioned to paint a replica. Mrs. Hastings did not think very highly of the painting: for she hung it in a remote corner of Daylesford House. Our readers must judge for themselves from the reproduction on the opposite page, which is taken from a photograph by Mr. F. Harrington.

(10) The positive statement in the advertisement disposes (says Lord Curzon) of that part of the ghost story attached to Hastings House at Alipore, which endeavours to connect the missing bureau with the Governor-General's nightly visit in a phantom coach and four.

(11) Lord Curzon (Vol. I, p. 141) gives the year as 1788: but this is an obvious slip: for the lease was converted into a sale in August, 1780.



WARREN HASTINGS' FAVOURITE PORTRAIT OF HIS WIFE;
From the Painting by J. Zoffany, R.A.
in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

from Francis' bungalow (12). "'Tis a pretty toy, but very small, though airy and lofty" Impey was invited to stay there in November, 1779: and William Hodges, the artist, who came out to India in March 1781, says of it that it was "the first house in Calcutta which deserves the name of a piece of architecture." After Hastings' departure, the house passed through various hands and was finally bought by Lord Curzon in 1901 for something under two lakhs. The design to use it as a Government Guest House was frustrated by the hegira to Delhi: and after a brief interlude, during which it served as a public school for Indian boys, it was allotted to various officers in the service of the Government of India who have been omitted from the general exodus.

Warren Hastings had also a house with 216 bighas of ground in the northern suburb of Chitpore, known as Cossipore Garden. There is no evidence that he ever occupied it, but he sold it (probably when he left India) to Cudbert Thornhill, a famous Calcutta character, who was master attendant from 1785 to 1808. Another country house at Rishra, two miles below Serampore, has been swallowed up by a couple of jute-mills. The estate was certainly sold by Hastings in November 1784: but once more there is no evidence that the Governor-General ever lived there, and the house known as Hastings Lodge which is approached by an avenue of mango trees, is rejected, as a building of later date. He did however make excursions to Sooksagar, which lay a little beyond the old Dutch factory at Chinsurah. The house is mentioned by Colesworthy Grant in his "Rural life in Bengal" (which was written in 1860) and Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" (1813) describes it as "an elegant house of European architecture." It will be looked for in vain to-day, for the river has long ago washed it away.

Finally, Lord Curzon disposes summarily of two "pretenders." The first of these is the house at the corner of Old Court House Street and Esplanade East, once occupied by Messrs. Scott Thomson and Company, the chemists, and now replaced by Ezra Mansions. It was said on the authority of Dr. G. R. Ferris, a member of the firm, that the initials of Hastings were to be seen scratched on one of the windows of the house. But Lord Curzon could find no one who had seen the inscription: and he dismisses the story as a myth. Equally short shrift is given to the claim of No. 9 Esplanade East, where a panelled room on the first floor was alleged to have been the Council Chamber of Hastings. The title-deeds which were inspected by Lord Curzon lent no support to the theory (13). Hastings did

(12) The Magistrate's house at Alipore. Thackeray lived here as a child when his father Richmond Thackeray was in charge of the Twenty Four Pergunnahs from 1812 to 1815.

(13) Lord Curzon similarly throws discredit upon the legend which associates No. 51 Bentinck Street, (the former premises of Messrs. Llewelyn and Company) with the first Lord Minto, and even with Warren Hastings. The apartments, which are supposed to have served as throne-room, waiting-room, ante-room and bed-room, are fine and spacious: but the title-deeds do not furnish the necessary link.

live in a house on the Esplanade, but, as we have seen, this was Buckingham House.

The sites of the two Council Houses have been subjected to the same careful analysis. Lord Curzon has found nothing in the official records to indicate where the meetings of the Council were held prior to the capture of Fort William in 1756. But it may safely be assumed that the Governor's House in the Fort contained a Council chamber. After the recovery of Calcutta, it was resolved on June 22, 1758, that "the dwelling house of the late Mr. Richard Court be purchased for the Honourable Company," as "it will be proper to have a room to hold our Councils in, contiguous to the Secretary's and Accountant's offices" (14). Where was this house? No building bearing the name of Court is to be found in Wills' map of 1753: and none of the various sites which have been suggested will bear investigation. It has been reserved for Lord Curzon to "lay this uneasy and long-lived ghost."

Just as these pages were going into print, there was unearthed an extract from the "India Gazette or Calcutta Public Adventurer" of 3rd March 1781 to the following effect: "To be let or sold, the House known by the name of the old Council House, next door to the old export warehouse. For particulars please to enquire of Mr. Edward Mullins at the Commercial Council House. (15).

Now, the old export warehouse was built against the south bastion of the old Fort on the site of what is incorrectly styled Koila (instead of Killa or Fort) Ghat Street: and the Council House must have stood in that street, perhaps at its juncture with Bankshall Street. In 1773 we find it advertised for sale as "a cutcha building with a detached building for a godown, cook room etc. and a compound, part surrounded with a railing, containing 4 beeghas, 11 cottahs of ground": and in a minute of February 1775, Warren Hastings describes it as having "fallen to ruins." It was in this Council House that Stanlake Batson on June 9, 1763 gave Hastings the lie and struck him in the face (16).

(14) Richard Court was a senior merchant who survived the Black Hole and was sent in chains to Moorshedabad with Holwell, Burdett, and Ensign Walcott. He had been nominated to Council but was drowned in the Hooghly in May 1758.

(15) "In conformity to the Orders of our Hon'ble Employers," Committees were constituted in March 1771 "for the Comptrolling and directing of every Branch of the Company's Affairs in Bengal and Behar." One of these was the Committee of Commerce under which was placed "all Business relative to the Investment."

(16) Henry Vansittart, the Governor, had protested against the claim put forward by the Company's servants to freedom from transit duties in connexion with their private speculations. His supporter in Council was Hastings who together with the Governor, was charged in a minute delivered by Batson with "acting the part of a retained solicitor of the Nabob rather than of a servant of the Company or a British subject." Batson was suspended and Vansittart and Hastings refused to sit with him ever after he had apologized and been reinstated by the votes of the majority. It was therefore decided that the minutes of each Council should be submitted to them, in their own houses.

On October 15, 1764, the Council "agreed to build a new council room at a convenient distance from the offices." The building thus erected occupied three sides of a quadrangle facing the Esplanade, but separated from it by a low wall surmounted by an iron railing, and it stood in the south west corner of the compound of the present Government House. Mention has already been made of it as Government House no. 4. Its destruction was ordered by Wellesley in 1800: and henceforward the Council-chamber formed part of Government House itself. Twenty three holders of the office of Governor-General have presided in that chamber: and the chair in which the President of the Bengal Legislative Council sits at the Town Hall, is their chair. But the vanished Council House was even fuller of historic memories. Here it was that in August 1780, Francis after a meeting of the Council drew Hastings aside and handed to him the written challenge which resulted in the famous duel at Alipore (17). Here also three years earlier Clavering and Francis met "at the General Council Table" in June 20, 1777 and dictated a letter to Hastings calling upon him to deliver over charge of the office of Governor-General.

A discovery of considerable interest has been made by Lord Curzon regarding the origin of Barrackpore as a country residence for the Governor-General. In April 1785 Captain John Macintyre offered to sell two bungalows and 220 bighas of land to the Government, either for the extension of the cantonment (which had been founded ten years earlier) or for the convenience of the Commander-in-Chief. The offer was accepted, and the property was purchased for Rs. 25,000, and the bungalow handed over to the Commander-in-Chief, with the approval of John Macpherson, who had succeeded Hastings as Governor-General. If Cornwallis lived there, as Lord Valentia asserts, it was because he was both Governor General and Commander-in-Chief: and if Shore received Rs. 500 a month for the hire of a country residence for himself, it was not because he gave up the Barrackpore house to the Commander-in-Chief, but because the allowance had naturally lapsed during the time of Cornwallis. In 1801, however, the place was actually appropriated by Lord Wellesley as the property of the Governor-General. The fortunate acquisition at the sale of the Wellesley MSS. at Christies in February 1918, of the original autograph letter in which Wellesley, on the last day of December, 1800, gave notice to the retiring Commander-in-Chief, Sir Alured Clarke, has enabled Lord Curzon to solve all doubts (18). Wellesley wrote:

I have examined the whole question with attention, and I am perfectly satisfied that the country Residence at Barrackpore is entirely

(17) Lord Curzon has discovered among the Hastings MSS. at the British Museum the Governor-General's own story of the encounter: and prints it on pp. 153-154 of his second volume. We reproduce it on pages 50 and 51 of this issue.

(18) The letter, together with several other autograph letters of Wellesley and one of the Duke of Wellington, was acquired by Lord Curzon for the Victoria Memorial Hall: where it may be seen.

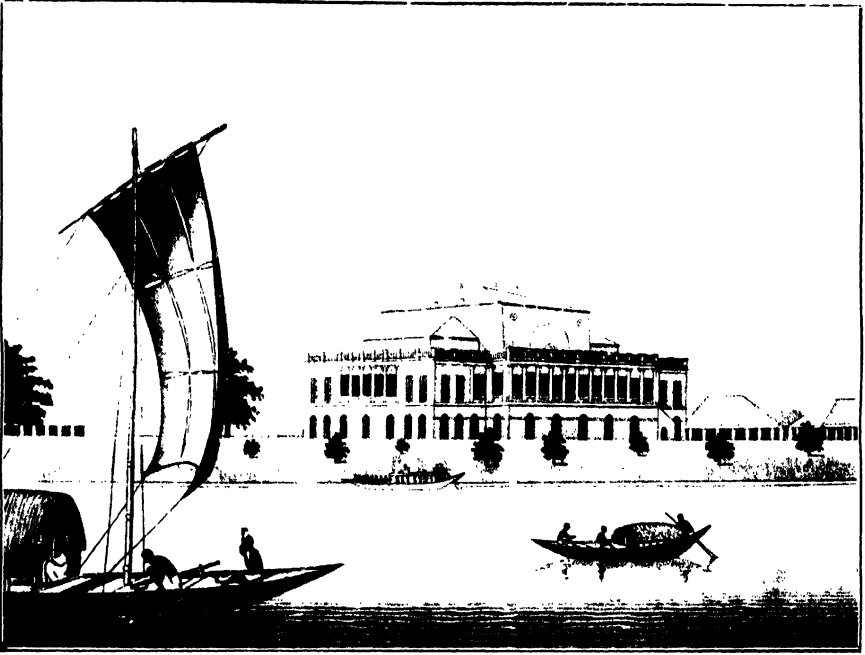
at the disposal of the Government, that it has accidentally passed into the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and that it is resumable at the pleasure of the Governor-General in Council. It is therefore evident to me that no right of the Commander-in-Chief would be affected by the resumption of the Place, whenever any person holding my station might think fit to resume it I have stated these considerations merely for the purpose of apprizing you of the general reasons which have determined me (whenever you shall embark for Europe and your personal convenience shall no longer be in question) to resume the Residence at Barrackpore: and to annex it permanently to the Government General; making such an arrangement for the accommodation of your successor as he may judge most eligible..... It is my intention to pass the approaching Hot Season at Barrackpore, and, with this view, it would be extremely convenient for me to obtain possession of the place as soon as possible, for the purpose of preparing the House more effectually against the Heat.

The Commander-in-Chief expressed his acquiescence on the day following: and the house was resumed on February 1, the monthly allowance of Rs. 500 being transferred to the Commander-in-Chief, "for the purposes of providing him with a garden house in the room of the house at Barrackpore." On June 27, 1801, the autocrat writes to Lady Anne Barnard, the authoress of "Robin Adair", to tell her that he was "residing almost entirely at Barrackpore, a charming spot which in my usual spirit of tyranny, I have plucked from the Commander-in-Chief."

In his defence to the Directors Wellesley says that the house he thus took over was "an old cottage in a state of considerable decay." Lord Valentia, who visited him there on February 3, 1803, is more complimentary.

The situation of this house is much more pleasing than anything I have yet seen. It is considerably elevated above the Hooghly river, on a very extended reach of which it stands: on the sides are pagodas, villages and groves of lofty trees. The water itself is much clearer than at Calcutta, and covered with the state barges and cutters of the Governor General. These, painted green, and ornamented with gold, contrasted with the scarlet dresses of the rowers, were a great addition to the scene. The park is laid out in the English style, and the house at present unfinished is well adapted to the climate, having a beautiful verandah on every side, and the rooms being on a very ample scale.

It will be seen that Wellesley had lost no time in converting the surrounding land which he described as "covered with jungle or swamps" into the beautiful Park which Calcutta knows so well. But he was not content with landscape gardening. He demolished the existing bungalow and commenced to build a "country villa" on its site, the present Govern-



A VIEW OF BARRACKPORE HOUSE ON THE RIVER HOOGHLY.
DRAWN BY JAMES MOFFAT : 1810.



WELLESLEY'S GOVERNMENT HOUSE : FROM THE "OLD COURSE."
DRAWN BY SIR CHARLES J.

ment House, described as "a new bungalow", being constructed higher up the river to serve as a temporary residence.

His ideas however of the projected house were hardly of the "country villa" type (observes Lord Curzon) unless it were a villa of the Caesars. The building was to cost from three to four lakhs: and a part of the scheme was said to involve the bringing up of all the public offices from Calcutta and planting them in Barrackpore Park. But when he retired from the scene in August 1805, the lower storey alone had been completed. Cornwallis, on coming out for the second time, at once ordered the work to be discontinued. Under the first Lord Minto (1807-1813) the walls remained untouched: but such of the materials as escaped destruction by a fire in the depot at Calcutta where they were stored, were sold by auction for little or nothing. Finally the shell was removed during the latter part of the administration of the Marquess of Hastings (1813-1823) who is said at one time to have contemplated completion on a reduced scale, but eventually contented himself with the enlargement of the present house. When Maria Graham came to Barrackpore in 1810, "the unfinished arches showed by moonlight like an ancient ruin."

Where did this "abortive palace" stand? Lord Curzon has settled this question also. It is known that Lady Hastings (who was Countess of Loudoun in her own right) built a greenhouse or conservatory on the site: and search in the India Office has revealed a copy of a map of 1841 by Charles Joseph, which cannot be traced in Calcutta. The Green House is there shown on the river bank at a spot almost identical with the existing bandstand in the Park and immediately below the lower landing place. "This then was the actual site of such vaulting ambition and such sad disaster".

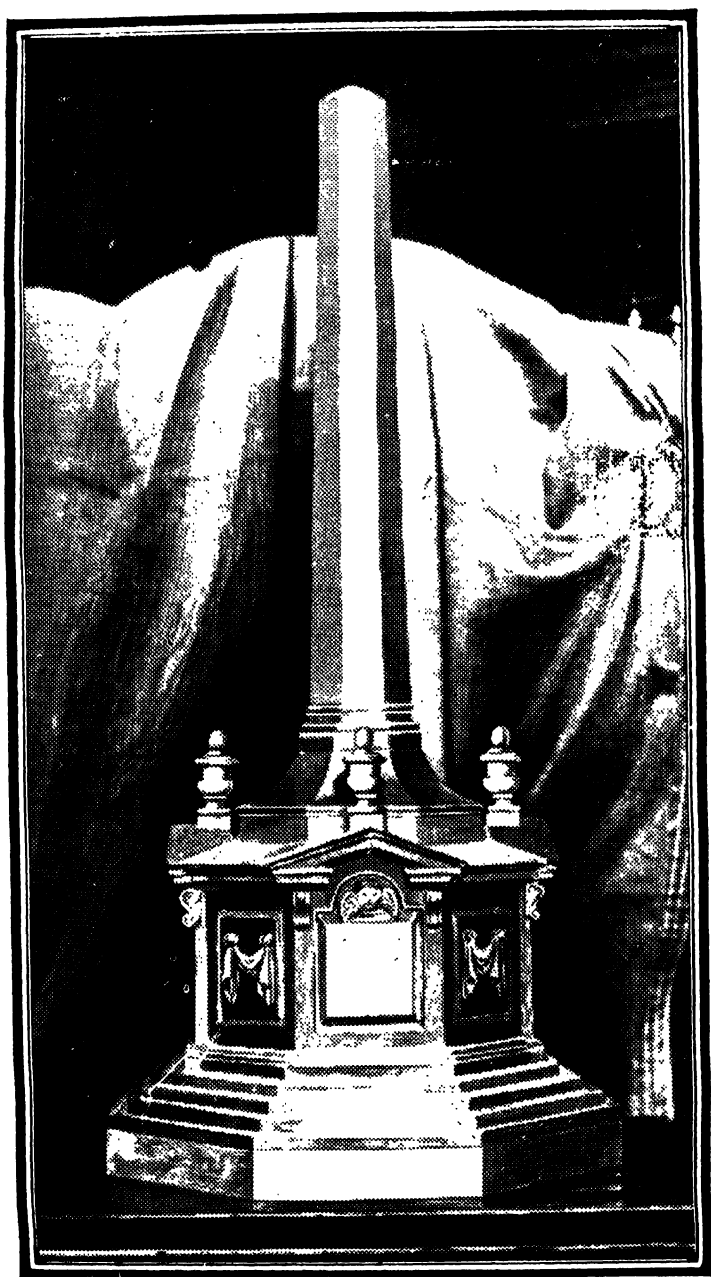
As for the existing house, it consisted when Wellesley left India, of three large rooms opening into a verandah. Minto calls it "a makeshift", but did nothing to enlarge it. It was reserved for Lord Hastings, as has been said, to make the substantial additions which more than doubled its size and converted the building into its present form. Lord Curzon cites a succession of appreciative witnesses, who have succumbed to the charms of Barrackpore. But Emily Eden after her first summer in Bengal, thought it was "a shame to stop Lord Wellesley when he was running up another good Government House", and complained of "the want of glass windows in the lower storey, and of doors to the interior of our part of the house." Dalhousie declared that the place reconciled him to a residence in Bengal: but when his wife, with whom he had spent so many happy hours there, died at sea on her way to England in 1854, he did not go near the spot for nearly two years. Lady Canning whose tomb is in the Park died at Government House Calcutta in November, 1861, of malarial fever caught in the Terai on her way back from Darjeeling: but both she and her husband were so devoted to Barrackpore that he decided to bury her there. Lord Curzon indicates plainly enough that his own affection for its restful beauties is not less than that of any of his predecessors. The Viceroy, he thinks, should

have retained Barrackpore as a residence to which he could come on the occasion of his visits to Calcutta: and Lord Hardinge did make the experiment. Fortunately for the Governors of Bengal, Lord Chelmsford took a different view and Belvedere was eventually preferred.

In one of Sir Charles D'Oyly's views of Calcutta (1820) the Governor-General and party are represented riding on elephants in the grounds, with the Bodyguard in incongruous attendance. Another shows the menagerie, which was originally intended by Wellesley to be an adjunct to his College of Fort William at Garden Reach, and after being swept away remorselessly by Lord William Bentinck, was restored by Lord Auckland and finally extinguished by the first Earl of Lytton who handed the inmates over to the Zoological Gardens at Alipore. Lord Curzon has not been able, when making mention of the elephants, to resist repudiation of the newspaper story that he and his family rode "promiscuously and habitually" on these animals when in India. He points out that whereas in 1852 the *hatikhana* consisted of 146 elephants and that when Lord Dufferin arrived in 1885 there were still 35, the number had shrunk in Lord Lansdowne's time to three of which one, said to have been ridden by Warren Hastings, was drowned while crossing the Ganges. Lord Elgin found only one: and abolished the whole *hatikhana* in January 1895. So far then was it beyond the power of Lord Curzon to disport himself on an elephant "whose gait I abominated", that he was obliged to borrow from the Maharajas of Jaipur and Benares on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar of 1903. The great silver state howdah and the embroidered *jhools* now adorn the entrance hall of Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

While the official residences in Calcutta and at Barrackpore absorb the major part of Lord Curzon's attention he does not omit to supply a series of admirable sketches of their occupants. For these the reader must be referred to the book itself. Nor can we attempt in this place to discuss his "Notes upon the Viceroyalty". Our review has already run to an inordinate length: and if an excuse be demanded, we can only plead the extraordinary fascination which is exercised alike by Lord Curzon's literary style and by the meticulous care which he has bestowed upon every one of the matters he has examined. Accuracy is indeed, one of the distinguishing features of the book: but even Homer was known to nod: and we conclude with noticing one or two instances of lapse, which must no doubt be attributed to the tragic circumstances in which the proof sheets were revised.

There is a curious slip on page 126 of the second volume. Mentioning the various individuals who have filled the office of private secretary to the Governor-General, Lord Curzon rightly places George Nesbitt Thompson as the first of the line. But he is obviously confusing him with General William Palmer when he goes on to say that Thompson "became a Resident at more than one Indian court, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant General." Again, on page 139 of the same volume, there is a comment of some asperity upon the absence of an effigy of Lord Ripon from the



MODEL OF HOLWELL'S MONUMENT:
EXECUTED BY HIS SON, LT. COL. JAMES HOLWELL.

memorials upon the Maidan. Lord Curzon does not seem to have been aware that a statue of that Viceroy by Mr. F. Derwent Wood R. A., was erected as long ago as 1915, and that it stands on the Red Road between the statues of the fourth Lord Minto and Lord Dufferin. And here we may interject that his Excellency Lord Lytton, the present Governor of Bengal, was not born at Government House, Calcutta, as stated on page 64 of the second volume, but at Peterhof, the predecessor of the modern Viceregal Lodge at Simla. On page 83 of the first volume, the Dutch gun captured at Cabul in 1879, which stands in the grounds of Government House, is said to bear the monogram V. G. C. The legend should be V. O. C. for the letters represent the words "Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie." We notice next, in the second footnote on page 125 of the same volume, an interesting account of the two portraits of Wellesley by Robert Home which were once in the Government House collection. The first of these which is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, is remarkable by reason of the carved and gilded tiger's heads below the frame, and, says Lord Curzon, "appears to be the picture voted by the city of Calcutta, to whom it accordingly belongs". But this is not the portrait which is reproduced (as Lord Curzon thinks) by way of frontispiece to the first volume. That is the finer picture (with St. Mary's Church at Madras in the background) which is at Simla and which Lord Curzon has ascertained from a Bengal Letter of July 24, 1832, to the Court of Directors, to have been brought to Calcutta from the Government House at Singapore. The word "latter" should be substituted for the word "former" in the last line of the note. Finally, we have failed to find the illustration of the model of the Black Hole monument prepared by Holwell's son, to which reference is made on page 150 of the first volume. It is stated to be in the possession of a gentleman in England connected by marriage with one of Holwell's descendants. We reproduce it from a block in the Society's possession which was prepared for use with the article contributed by Lord Curzon (as we have already said) to Volume XV of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

H. E. A. COTTON.

The Hastings-Francis Duel.

THE following is Hastings' own account of his duel with Francis in 1780.

It is written in a little paper booklet of forty-five manuscript pages, in a marbled cover, and was discovered by Lord Curzon among the Hastings MSS. which were bequeathed to the British Museum by Miss Marian Winter, the great-niece of Mrs. Hastings.

Aug. 17th. The next morning Coll. Pearse by Appt. called on me, but before ye Time, at about a Qr. after 4. I laid down again on ye Couch for half an Hour. Then dressed and went wh. him in his Carriage. Met ye Troopers on ye way and dismissed ym. Arrived at Belvidere exactly at ye time proposed—at 5-30, found Mr. F. and Coll. Watson walking on ye road. Some time was consumed in looking for a private place—went along ye road to Mr. Barwell's, stopped between ye village and the House. Our Seconds proposed yt we sd. stand at a measured Distance wh. both (taking a recent Example in Engd.) fixed at 14 paces, & Coll. Watson paced & marked 7. I stood to ye Southward. There was (as I recollect) no wind. Our Seconds (Coll. Watson I think) proposed yt. no advante. shd. be taken, but each chuse his own Time to fire—I sd. have said yt. Coll. Pearse loaded my pistols on ye ground wh. two cartridges wh. he had prepared. I had resolved to defer my Fire yt. I might not be Embarrassed wh. his. He snapped but the Pistol missed Fire. The Second put a fresh priming to it and chapped ye Flints. I still purposed to receive ye first Fire, but Mr. F. twice aiming and withdrawing his pistol, I judged yt. I might seriously take my Aim at him. I did so and when I thought I had fixed ye true Direction I fired. His pistol went off at ye same Time & so near ye same Instant that I am not certain wh. was first, but believe mine was first, and that his followed in ye Instant. He staggered immy, his Face expressed a sensation of bg. struck and his limbs shortly but gradually went under him, & he fell saying, but not loudly, "I am dead." I ran to him, Shocked I own at ye Information, & I can safely Say without any immediate sensation of Joy for my own success. The Seconds also ran to his Assistance. I saw his Coat pierced in ye right side, & feared ye Ball had passed through him: but he sat up without much Difficulty several Times and once attempted wh. our help to stand, but his Limbs failed him, & he sank to ye ground. Coll. W. yn proposed yt. as we had met from a point of Honor & not for personal rancour

we sd. join Hands (or that Mr. F. sd. give me his). We did so; Mr. F. chearfully & I expressed my regret at ye condn. to wh. I saw him reduced. He found most ease lying on his Back. A cot was brot from Major Tolley's he havg. no palikeen, & he was conveyed upon it to Belvidere, where he remains. Coll. P. & I returned to my House in Town. We went to seek Dr. Campbell & I desired Dr. Francis to follow. Both immedy went. They found ye wound not dangerous, havg. entd. the side before ye seam of ye waistcoat a little below ye shoulder, and passing through both Muscles & within ye skin which covers ye back bone, was lodged within a visible distance of ye skin in ye opposite side.

As soon as I returned home, I sent Mr. Markham to Sr. E. to inform him of what had passed & that I should wait ye Event wh. if fatal I sd. instantly surrender myself to him, that ye law mt. take its Course agt. me.

Mr. Barwell's house is of course, the building afterwards known as Kidderpore House. The allusion to "the recent example in England" is to the duel between Charles James Fox and Adams in 1779. "Sr. E." is obviously Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice. Dr. Daniel Campbell was the Surgeon-General and went home with the Impeys in 1783. Dr. Clement Francis was the Governor-General's Surgeon.

As Lord Curzon observes, the narrative demonstrates with unerring clearness the firm deliberation with which Hastings aimed and fired.

Jesuit Letters from Bengal, Arakan & Burma (1599-1600.)

A NEW VERSION OF THE ANNUAL LETTER OF GOA (DECEMBER 1,
1600), DATED SEPTEMBER 8, 1602.

IN 1917 or earlier I translated Fr. Nicholas Pimenta's Annual Letter of Goa, December 1, 1600, from the *Exemplum/ Epistolae P./ Nicolai Pimentae Provin-/ciae Orientalis In-/diae Visitoris/ad/admodum R. P. Clav-/dium Aquarivam Praepo-/situm Generalem Societatis/Iesu,/de statu rei Christia-/nae in India Orientali Calendis De-/cembris anno/1600 datae./ Excursum primo Romae/apud Ludovicum Zanetti 1602./Nunc vero/Mogentiae Apud Joannem/ Albinum/anno eodem (1).*

The Latin text of this Mainz edition was translated from the Italian by "I.B., S.J.," that is to say, Joannes Busaeus or Jan Buijs, S.J., of Nijmegen. A faithful reprint of this translation will be found among other collections in Fr. John Hay's *De Rebus Iaponicis, Indicis, et Pervanis Epistolae Recentiores* (Antverpiae, anno MDCV [1605], pp. 809-859).

Recently I found that a manuscript Latin text of an Annual Letter of Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, dated September 8, 1602 (MSS. of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Hist.*, 1600-1621; *Goa*, 33; *Litt. Ann.*, September 8, 1602) supplies another version of the text printed at Mainz and Antwerp. The differences were sufficiently great to warrant a new translation.

I may remark that Father Pierre du Jarric, S.J., seems to have utilised yet another source than those enumerated above for his *Troisiesme partie de l'histoire des choses plus memorables* (Bourdeaux, 1614, pp. 826-834, 840-847).

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

(Fol. 60 recto). 1. Next comes the mission of Bengala, about the origin of which I wrote to your Paternity last year. I shall now add a few particulars about its progress, for letters from our Fathers have given us more information about the country itself and allow us to hope better results from that Mission.

2. Bengala is a vast country, stretching far and wide in every direction. The sea-coast alone, from East to West measures six hundred miles. The first and real inhabitants of this country are those whom we call Bengalas. They follow heathenish rites. Some Mahometan Patanes,

(1) The portion concerning Mogor [Hindustan] was published by me in *The Examiner* (Bombay) of October 11, 1919 (pp. 407-409). The translation was made from the Mainz edition. I have in manuscript the translations of the Jesuit Letters on Bengal, Arakan, and Burma for 1598-1610.

who live amongst them rebelled and took up arms against them; but they were not allowed to enjoy long their ill-gotten power. The Mongols or Mogores, a nation bordering on the Bengalas, expelled the Patanes, killing their King and their Chiefs, and took possession of the kingdom. Twelve princes, however, called Boyones (2) who governed twelve provinces in the late King's name, escaped from this massacre. These united against the Mongols, and hitherto, thanks to their alliance, each maintains himself in his dominions. Very rich and disposing of strong forces, they bear themselves as Kings, chiefly he of Siripur (3), also called Cadaray, and he of Chandecan (4), but most of all the Mansondolin (5). The Patanes, being

(2) See my article *The Twelve Bhuiyas or Landlords of Bengal*, in J. A. S. B. IX (1913) no. 10 pp. 437-449.

(3) *Siripur*, or *Sripur*—on the right bank (?) of the river Meghna, and situated not far from Rajabari in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district. All trace of the site, including the church, has been washed away. The place is mentioned by Rennell (Mem. A.S.B. Vol. III). Ralph Fitch visited Sripur in 1586 and writes:

From Satagan [Satgaon] I travelled by the country of the King of Tippara or Porto Grande [Chittagong] with whom the Mogores or Mogen [query: both the Moghuls and the Maghs of Arakan] have almost continuall warres.....From Chatigan [Chittagong] in Bengala I came to Bakla [identified by Fr. H. Jossou, S.J., in his *Mission du Bengale occidental* (Bruges, 1921, Vol. I, 55, map) as a place in the Backerganj district].....From Bacola I went to Serrepore [Sripur] which standeth upon the river of Ganges: the king is called Choudery [Chaudhari]. They be all hereabouts rebels against their king Zebaldin Echebar [Jalal-ud-din Akbar]; for there are so many rivers and Islands that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevaile against them.....Sinnergaon [Sunargaon] is a towne six leagues from Serrepore where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India.....Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places..... I went from Serrepore the 28th of November, 1586 for Pegu in a small ship or foist of one Albert Caravallos [Carvalho] and so passing down the Ganges and passing by the Island of Sundiva [Sandwip], Porto Grande or the Countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon [Arakan] and Mogen [of the Maghs], leaving them on our left with a faire wind at north-west, our course was South by East, which brought us to the barre of Negrais in Pegu.

Dominic Carvalho was in 1602 in the service of Raja Kedar Rai [Cadaray] the Bhuiya Raja of Sripur. In September, 1603, he was decoyed into Pratapaditya's palace at Jessore and killed and the Fathers and Christians had to leave Chandecan. A letter of Fr. Andrew de Nabais of January 25, 1602, shows that there were at that time at the Portuguese settlement of Chandecan some fifteen Portuguese, a number of topasses (Indian or half-caste Christians, speaking Portuguese as well as the vernacular), and one Augustinian priest. Half a league away, near the Jesuit Church, lived three Portuguese, and some married topasses and Indian converts.

(4) The capital of the Raja of Chandecan (Pratapaditya) is difficult to determine. Fr. H. Jossou (op. cit. Vol. I, p. 53, n. 1) places it in the extreme east of the modern district of Khulna. I believe it was at Jessore. Mr. H. Beveridge (J. A. S. B. 1876, Vol. XLV, Part I) identified it with Dhumghat, near the modern bazar of Kaliganj, which is eighteen miles to the north of the town of Jessore. Vikramaditya, the father of Pratapaditya (one of the Barah Bhuiyas, or Twelve Chiefs) had obtained the estate of Chand Khan from King Daud. See my article on the Twelve Bhuiyas in J. A. S. B. IX (1913), pp. 441-442, where the authorities are cited.

(5) *Mansondolin* is a corruption of Masnad-i-Ali, the title of Isa Khan, the Bhuiya Raja of Khizarpur, near Narayanganj.

scattered above, are subject to the Boyones. However, as of these twelve Kinglets only three are Gentiles, namely those of Chandecan, Siripur and Bacala (6), the others being Mahometans, the Christian harvest promises less well and meets with greater obstacles. The Mogs (7) neighbour on the Bengalas. Their King, who is called King of Chandecan (7A), also possesses a part of Bengala. The Portuguese living within the limits of Bengala have certain settlements called Bandedes (8). Some of these, to whom the Kings gave lands and yearly revenues, are very rich and powerful. At times a priest goes to them on a visit and administers to them the Sacraments; but, as these priests depend upon the said Portuguese for their subsistence, they cannot do aught but as they list (9). Hitherto conversions to the faith on the part of the Gentiles have been rare. However, you will find in the settlements some Neophytes, whom the Portuguese have either brought from other places or have had baptised there from among their dependents. The condition of them all is such as to show clearly how badly they require a shepherd.

3. The country is large and fertile; on the side washed by the sea, where the Ganges flows into the ocean, it breaks up into many islands, being intersected by many rivers, commonly called 'gangas' (10), because the people hold strongly that they are arms or mouths of the Ganges; yet, the source of many 'gangas' has been discovered by navigating upstream for eight or ten days: however, none has yet been discovered, as far as I know,

(6) *Bacala, Batecala, or Bakla* was the ancient name for the tract of country now known as Backergunge. It was visited in 1586 by Ralph Fitch, who observes that the King was a "Gentile". This was the Chandradwip Raja Kandarpa Narayan who was succeeded by his son Ramchandra, described by Fr. Melchior Fonseca, S.J. (*post*, para. 18) as "a boy of eight but intelligent beyond his years." The name Bakla has now disappeared except in the compound form Bakla Chandradwip, given to the Pargana. This was sold for arrears of revenue in 1799 and the Raj family, which still exists, was reduced to poverty (Backerganj Gazetteer, p. 125). Sarkar Bacala or Ismailpore is mentioned in Todar Mal's assessment of 1582 and Abul Fazl records in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that it was overwhelmed by an inundation in 1584. During the time of Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan, Bakla passed definitely under the rule of the Moghuls. Fr. Fonseca's description of the road from Bakla to Chandecan does not by any means suggest that the Sundarbans were populated at the time.

(7) *Maghs or Mughhs*. According to Shihabuddin Talish (MS. Bodleian, 589) "the people of the country are called Maghs, which is an abbreviation of Muhamil-i-sag (despicable dog). They do not admit into their country any other tribe than the Christians, who visit it by the sea-route for purposes of trade". (See article by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, J.A.S.B., Vol. III, June 1907, p. 419). Francis Buchanan Hamilton (1810) says: "The term Mugg, these people assure me, is never used either by themselves or by the Hindoos, except when speaking the jargon commonly called Hindoostanee by Europeans."

(7A) Read here: *Chatigan*—Chittagong. "Chatigan is the most famous and wealthy city of the Kingdom of Bengal, by reason of its port, at which meets the traffic of all that Eastern region". (Joao de Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, 1552).

(8) *Bandedes*—from the Persian *bandar*, city, port, wharf. The best known Bandel is a mile above the town of Hugli. Chittagong is called Bandel de Chatigao in Bocarro (*Decada 13 da Historia da India*) and the term "Bandel" is applied to Gombroon by Sir Thomas Roe (1616).

(9) Priests, mostly of the secular clergy, had laboured there before the coming of the Jesuits.

(10) *Ganga* is a generic term for "river".

for the 'ganga' which flows past the smaller harbour (11). In these 'gansas' ships travel at the high tide and at the low tide; but, when the tide is contrary, one has to wait till it changes. The ships are very swift, and are built like myoparos (12). Those most in use [Fol. 60 verso] are called Jaleas, which consist of a single tree trunk, and have thirty oars. Others are ships of burden called Baurines (13), which have fewer oars than the Jaleas; when the tide is favourable they seem to outstrip the wind in swiftness, and there is no kind of vessel among us which matches them in speed. Navigation in these rivers is exposed to three dangers. First, there are robbers and pirates, who seize the ships, plunder the poor passengers of all their goods and cruelly kill them. Next come the Crocodiles, which do not spare those whom they can catch. Thirdly there are Tigers, who are so fond of human flesh that, unless one has seen it with one's own eyes, one could not believe it. There are Tigers who, when they have seen a ship, will follow it a distance of sixty miles, watching whether any of the rowers will land, and devouring him the moment he does. At night they attack the boatmen, and at times kill from fifteen to twenty people. The story of what happened to an Indian is incredible. Not so very long before the arrival of our Fathers, the servant of a certain Portuguese, who was travelling with his Master, in a big ship, dreamed that he was being devoured by a Tiger. The next night, out of fright he laid himself down to sleep under his Master's bed. "What are you doing there?" asked the Master. He related his dream. Hearing the story, the Portuguese drove the poor fellow away. Forced to seek another sleeping place, he chose a less safe one near the prow. Shortly after, a Tiger crept out of the neighbouring wood, got safely on board the ship, which lay at anchor near the shore, and, passing by all the rest, some thirty of them, without doing them any harm, he pounced upon this poor servant only, who lay hidden in a hole near the prow, threw him on his back and carried him off into the woods. Another was attacked at one and the same time by a Tiger on the land-side and by a Crocodile from the side of the sea; but the Tiger, who was too eager for his prey, making too high a bound passed beyond the man and striking with his head against the keel fell into the mouth of the Crocodile. In this way the man escaped the danger which threatened him from both sides (14).

4. The Bengalas are so afraid of Tigers that not one of them dares to call them by their name; they always use a periphrase, fearing that, should

(11) The Hugli is here supposed to be the real mouth of the Ganges, whose source was then a mystery to Europeans. The Smaller Harbour is the Porto Pequeno, a term which applied at first probably to Satgaon, then to Hugli town, and perhaps even to the Hugli, off Hijili.

(12) The *myoparo* was a kind of light piratical vessel.

(13) The term *Baurines* is not to be found in *Hobson-Jobson* or in Mgr. Delgado's *Glossario Luso-Asiatico* of 1919. Perhaps connected with *bar* (Pers.): load.

(14) The story of the tiger and the crocodile is, I believe, to be found in later travellers, independently and with changes. Is it not known in Bengali literature of a much earlier date: perhaps, as an illustration of some proverb or idiomatic expression such as "between two fires"?

from India (19). We were detained rather long here by the many confessions of people of both sorts (20), many of whom had for two years been without a confessor (21). Very many, therefore, received both the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrament of Confession, so much so that not a day passed when many did not approach the Holy Table. But, as there was no Church in the land, we were obliged to say Mass on an altar erected in our house, until at last, at our suggestion, the Church was built which we use now. Thanks to ours, many restitutions were made, which for Bengala is as good as a miracle; many were happily saved from the occasions of sin offered by their own homes, in which occasions they were living to the no small scandal of the people; many finally, whose union had for many years been illicit, were joined in lawful wedlock. And this is the chief fruit generally reaped among the old Christians in Bengala. Such was the number of confessions to be heard in those days that we could not finish with them before the beginning of Lent. As I had promised to the people of Siripur that I would preach to them during Lent, I left at Dianga Father Dominic Sosa, that he might hear the confessions of the many then going to the harbours of Pegu (22) and I went myself to Siripur. On the Sundays of Lent and on the Fridays I preached there on our Lord's Passion, as is done at Goa. To the Bengalas (23) it was something new and unwonted; hence it excited much curiosity and produced on their minds an incredible impression. The processions were enhanced by a long file of disciplinants, the children going ahead in neat white surplices. Although preaching kept me so busy, I could not escape from hearing confessions; nay, besides many others, I heard the confession of the chief people of this settlement. One of them, on coming home after hearing the sermon, repaid to his creditor a no small debt. I spent the whole winter (24) at Siripur with equal success. I produced but little fruit among the Gentiles of this station, first because of the land's sterility, and secondly because I was alone and did not know the Bengalic language. A certain rich Mahometan Sodegar (25) had been killed by the Portuguese. His wife, a prudent serious woman, after hearing repeatedly the Christian faith explained through an interpreter, acknowledged the true faith and was baptised. Someone, against all right and law, wanted to enslave for his father's debt a child of honourable birth and good character. I came to his help in good time and taught

(19) Sc. Portuguese India.

(20) "Of both sorts"—sc. Portuguese and Indian Christians.

(21) Since these confessions were heard in the Lent of 1599, the congregations must have been visited in or about the Lent of 1597, before the Jesuit mission arrived. There were, therefore, either secular priests, or religious, moving about the country. This system of touring had, probably, been in vogue for a number of years already: but not much is known of the period preceding the Jesuit mission.

(22) Apparently in order to assist the Raja of Arakan in his war against Pegu.

(23) Query: "Christians in Bengal."

(24) "Winter" is here used for the rainy season, or monsoon.

(25) *Sodegar*: Pers. *saudagar*, merchant.

him the Christian doctrine (26). He learned it by heart so quickly that, though he began only at the beginning of Lent, he was teaching the servants when Easter drew near, and served the priest at Mass. I was told that a child was lying in the street, and drawing his last breath. Brought at once to the house, it was quickly baptised and rendered up its soul to its Creator.

7. "As I said, Fr. Dominic Sosa remained a fortnight at Dianga, during which time there were so many confessions that he had barely time to take his food. He did many things there for the glory of God: some renounced their hatreds; others the occasions of sin in which they were entangled; others were lawfully married. This done, he came back to me at Siripur. [Fol. 61 verso]. Meanwhile I learned by letters and messengers from Chandecan that the petty King (27) was beginning to despair about our return. I was therefore obliged to send there Fr. Dominic Sosa. His arrival gave great joy to the Portuguese; they thought they would not see the Father again. At once, he started preaching to them and inviting them to prepare themselves for confessing their sins. They did so carefully and during the two weeks of Lent still remaining he heard the confessions of all. He performed solemnly the services of Holy Week, all bursting into tears, so much so that the Church echoed frequently with their sighs and their wails. But the festivities of the Resurrection at Easter [1599] amply compensated their grief. The Patanes living at Chandecan had killed the Portuguese Chief (28), on whom the petty King had conferred, as an honour, the title of Prefect. Presently, the King ordered all his property to be given away [to the Father]: the Father, however, refused to accept it. Fearing that the Father was angry because of the murder, he called him, addressed him most kindly, and then offered to the Church the goods of the deceased, which were considerable. The Father declared candidly that our law does not allow us to take another man's goods. The King, after highly praising his resolution, asked the Father what he wished him to do with the property, as he would do nothing without his approval. He has conceived this high opinion of us, because he knows that we always tell him the truth, that we ask him nothing and do nobody harm or hurt; what pleases him most is that he hears everybody praise the honesty and uprightness of our Society. He gave the Father another ground and site, suitable for building a Church and a house, and better than the former, the possession of which, as it belonged to the Patanes, was less secure. He also gave welcome assistance in erecting the buildings by supplying the artisans and workmen. He generally leaves it to the Father to settle all the affairs of the Portuguese. When he speaks with them, it is privately,

(26) "Christian doctrine"—A beginning of a Bengali translation of the catechism in Portuguese had been undertaken by Fr. de Sousa at Hugli in 1598.

(27) *Pratapaditya*.—The Fathers had spent a month with the Portuguese at Chandecan in 1598 and had proceeded thence to Siripur, where they arrived in December 1598.

(28) His title must have been Capitao, or captain. The phrase Capitao Mor (chief captain) has at times been anglicised into "Captain Moor", as though it were the name of an individual.

a departure from the usual custom, for he speaks with the rest in the open air, publicly, now answering these, then those.

8. "In the month of May [1599] Fr. Dominic Sosa left for Golin (28A). On the way, he suffered much from robbers who shot with arrows at the ship; however, thanks to God's help, he escaped safely from every danger. As he had gone away without bidding the King good-bye, the latter began again to entertain fears about his return. When he saw him back once more, he was glad and keen on cultivating his friendship. The Father, after asking his leave, reported to him the complaints of the Portuguese against the Patanes, for the Patanes settled at Chandecan were bitter against the Portuguese and treated them badly. The Father informed him about this and other matters of great importance. To this the King answered that he sought the Fathers' friendship and presence for the purpose of using their advice in correcting abuses, as indeed he does.

9. "In the month of April [1599] I went to Catabro (29) which is subject to the Mansondolin King. There I started examining whether there was any chance of propagating the Christian religion, but I found that the people are nearly all Mahometans. There are, besides, in those parts certain foreigners, whom their trade carries frequently to Agra and Lahore. towns of Achebar's. They are keen-witted and like to make a show of their learning. I had a conversation with them, before a large gathering, about the Christian laws and practices. One of them boasted that the law of the Gentiles is older than ours. He thought that this argument alone would overcome me. I answered that he was quite wrong, that ours was older, since Adam and Eve, the progenitors of the human race, had observed the very same law as we, and that their children after them had for many centuries lived most holily under the same observance. On that occasion, I demonstrated clearly the beginning and origin of Idolatry, as we have it in the Book of Wisdom. [Fol. 62 recto]. Surprised at my answer, they did not know what to say, and after that they found it was hopeless to discuss with me. It is wonderful how the people of this world are unreasonable. When defeated, and although acknowledging that our law is good and the true one, they continue in theirs, quite staunch and satisfied.

10. "In the month of October [1599], Fr. Dominic Sosa wrote to tell me that I had by all means to go to Chandecan in order to settle satisfactorily our affairs with the King. An occasion had offered itself which was to be profited by, if everything was not to be disturbed again. Though I had started for the Residence of Ours at Dianga (in order to welcome the Fathers coming from India), yet judging that there would be time for both purposes, I set out thither. I do not know how to tell your Reverence how

(28A) Golin: Ugolim, Hugli.

(29) Catabro—Dr. Wise writes in J. A. S. B., 1875, Vol. XLIV, p. 182: "Catabro is Katrabo, now a *tappa* on the Lakhya river, opposite Khizarpur, which for long was the property of Isa Khan, Masnad-i-Ali". See my notes in J. A. S. B. Vol. IX (1913), pp. 440-444.

happy both of us were at meeting again after six months. The King heard at once about my arrival, and immediately, by way of compliment, he sent the Chief Brachman to tell me that my arrival gave him the greatest pleasure and that he wished very much to see me. The next day I went with the Father to pay him a visit (30). He received me with much kindness and politeness. He conversed with us alone for a long time, and after much kindly talking he started saying finally that our law and his were the same. Father Dominic Sosa, he said, had spoken to him of the Commandments of our law, and they had appeared to him the same as his. To this I replied that it could not be; for heaven and earth were not further apart than his law and ours. He asked the Father to recite the Commandments in the vernacular. As he recited them, at the very first Commandment, I caught my man, and showed him that the first commandment of our law was about worshipping one God, whilst they loved and worshipped many. The King replied that he agreed there is but one true God, the others being the friends and familiars of God, just as those whom we call saints. I represented that we did not offer sacrifice to our saints, and did not adore them, whereas the Gentiles adored all theirs without distinction and offered to them sacrifices, which showed that they acknowledged several Gods, which is most abhorrent to our law. Nonplussed by my objection, the King turned the conversation to something else (31).

I asked him to call the Prince his son. They called him. He came, a boy of about twelve, with a very intelligent look. When I had praised him enough before his Father, I asked the King to order him to sign our 'diploma', so that the homage which we rendered to his father during his lifetime, we might exhibit to the son when he would have succeeded to his father's estates. The King was pleased with this request, and, although the boy was already washed as usual, and on that account forbidden by his religion to do such things, yet at his father's order he was willing and pleased to sign. The Portuguese say that in this way we are more sure to remain in these lands and to continue in possession of the property of our Church. I remained a whole month at Chandecan, and I was treated always most kindly by the King. To Fr. Dominic Sosa too he now shows the same honour. Lately, as I learned from the Father's letters, it happened that, as the Father asked him for an interview, he could not hear him; but the

(30) The Raja's residence must have been at Jessore. It was there that he was living in 1603. Cf. Fr. H. Josson, S.J., op. cit. p. 63.

(31) "The King of Chandecan (which lyeth at the mouth of the Ganges) caused a Jesuite to rehearse the *Decalogue*: who when he reproved the Indians for their polytheism, worshipping so many Pagodes: he said that they observed them but as, among them, their Saints were worshipped: to whom how savoury the Jesuites distinction of *doulcia* and *latreia* was for his satisfaction, I leave to the reader's judgment. This King, and the others of Bacala and Arracan, have admitted the Jesuites into their countries and most of these Indian Nations". Cf. Purchas' *Description of India*, ch. 3, quoted in J. Talboys Wheeler's *Early Travels in India*, Calcutta, 1864, p. 15. We leave to the reader's judgment why so many of these Kings admitted the Jesuits at all, and why English Jesuits were hounded out of their own country at this time.

next day he came to the Church to excuse himself on the score of his occupations (32).

11. "On returning from Chandecan I underwent many toils and was exposed to many dangers from robbers, from which, however, I escaped with God's help; and, after I had spent ten days doing hardly anything except sleep, I began to feel unwell (33). On landing at Siripur, I received letters from Fathers Melchior Fonseca and Andrew Boves (34) who had landed at Dianga. When I was about to go to them, I fell into a troublesome and dangerous illness, so that my life was almost despaired of. Hearing this, they hastened to come to me. Their meeting made me recover so thoroughly that I came at once with them [Fol. 62 verso] to this our residence of Dianga. For a month my health was fluctuating, the fever now receding, then returning at longer intervals; now I think I can say I am well, but mine is the health of an old man, which is never very strong. When we came to Dianga, we found Manoel de Matos and the other Portuguese preparing to go to the King of Arracan, who had come back during those days from his expedition against Pegu; for this port of Chatigan (35) which is under his sway, he has given almost entirely to the Portuguese. They asked me to go with them to settle our affairs with the King, but, as I was prevented by ill-health, I earnestly begged Jerome Monteiro, a great nobleman, who is devoted to our Society and is the King's friend, to settle them for us, which he very kindly agreed to do. Besides, I wrote to the King. Thanks to our letter and what he heard about us from Jerome Monteiro and the other Portuguese, the King was highly pleased and he wrote back to us as follows:—

12. "The high and powerful King of Arracan, Tipara (36), Chacoma (37), and Bengala, Lord of the Kingdoms of Pegu, etc., to you,

(32) The apparent ease with which the Fathers go to the palace and the King comes to their Church would show that the Portuguese settlement was not far from to the royal residence.

(33) The journey back to Siripur would have been by boat through the Sundarbans, during which time the Father could take a good long rest. But did he not contract malaria?

(34) These two Fathers formed the second batch of Jesuit missionaries sent to Bengal. They arrived at Dianga on September 17, 1599. How is it that Fr. Fernandes, who says that he left for Chandecan in October, had not before he set out from Siripur received the news of their arrival? He stayed a month at Chandecan, returned to Siripur, and fell ill: and on November 25, 1599, Fr. Boves wrote from Dianga to the General of the Society that he had gone to Siripur and brought Fr. Fernandes to Dianga.

(35) Chittagong: see note (7A). The same form is used by Linschoten (1598): "From the River Eastward 50 miles lyeth the towne of Chatigan, which is the chief towne of Bengala."

(36) Tippera.

(37) Du Jarric (French edition) has "Chacomas". Fr. Hay gives "Cacomas" in his *De Rebus Japonicis* (Antverpiæ, 1605). Cf. Joao de Barros (1552): "Up to the Cape of Negraes [Cape Negraes, at the extreme South end of Arakan] will be 100 leagues, in which space are these populated places, Chocoria, Bacula, Arracao city, capital of the Kingdom, so styled." Chocoria appears to be the modern Chakiria (Atlas, Imperial Gazetteer of India, plate 30), which lies about half way between the ancient capital of Arakan and Chittagong. Lavanha's map (in de Barros, *Decadas*, Vol. IV. Madrid, 1615, reproduced in Dames' *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* Vol. II, p. 135) shows "Chacomas" far in the interior, between the Kingdom of "Brema

Fathers of the Society of Jesus. I derived much joy from your letters, which abounded in words respecting the service of God, and especially from what Manoel de Matos and Jerome Monteiro told me about your virtues. I should be most happy and pleased, if you came to me, so that we might settle properly the affairs of the Portuguese and make arrangements for building a Church and about making Christians, if any want to become Christians of their own accord. We shall contribute money for the purpose and give you our services. Given at Arracan under the Royal Seal.'

13. "At once he selected and ordered a site to be cleared, which is suitable for building a Church and a house and convenient for the Christian inhabitants. Those who are experienced and versed in these matters assert that in virtue of this diploma the King is bound to provide us with everything necessary both in the port of Chatigan and in the town of Arracan. Wherefore I decided with Father Andrew Boves to go there as soon as possible, not with the intention of remaining there, but of examining everything carefully and determining what we should judge to be most pleasing to God.

14. "Shortly after landing at this residence of Dianga, Fr. Melchior Fonseca started for Chandecan, according to Your Reverence's order, and on the way he passed through the Kingdom of Bacala. As the Portuguese living there had for a long time wished for Fathers, and some, both of the Portuguese and of the Neophytes, had not for many years approached the Sacrament of Penance, they advised the Father to pay a visit to the King. He treated the Father with all possible kindness and gave him the following diploma:—

15. "'I, King of Bacala, grant to the Fathers lately arrived in Bengala and to their successors leave to build Churches in my Kingdom, to preach the law of the true God, and to make Christians of all those who willingly and voluntarily wish to be enrolled as such and they will not on that account forfeit their goods; nay, I shall show them every favour, kindness and goodwill, and I shall take care that the chiefs and nobles of my Kingdom equally favour all those who will have embraced the Christian faith. If any one acts otherwise, as soon as he is reported by the Fathers, I shall see to it that he is duly punished.'

16. "I wished to go to Bacala, before the vessels set sail for India in order to inform Your Reverence about these matters; [Fol. 63 recto] but as I was daily expecting answers from Arracan, I could not get away from here. I learned from a letter by Father Melchior Fonseca that the King of Chandecan had loaded him with every kind of attention, and that his

[Burma] Lima [? d' Ava] and Tipara", on one side, and the estates of Codavascom [? Khuda Bakhsh Khan] on the other. Further information on Chacomias will probably be found in Blochmann's *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1873: first published in J. A. S. B. about the same time). For the first time I remark that Lavanha's map shows a cross on one of the turrets of the buildings at Chatigam [Chittagong], Govro [Gaur] and Codavascom. This seems to show that there were some Christians there at the time when the map was drawn. Dianga is not marked, but the site appears to be indicated by "Irabu". On Codavascom, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.

arrival has given much pleasure to the inhabitants. The affairs of that residence are in a good way. The house is finished up to the roof, and they are completing the Church so as to be able to say in it the first solemn Mass on the feast of the Circumcision. As Your Reverence ordered, we shall dedicate it to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, the first in Bengala (38). There remains to ask Your Reverence to send soon helpers and assist us with your prayers and sacrifices and those of the whole province, so that what we have undertaken for God's service may prosper and happily redound to his glory." Thus far Fr. Francis Fernandez (39).

17. In another letter by Fr. Melchior Fonseca, dated Chandecan, the 13th before the Kalends of February of the year 1600 [January 20, 1600] we read:—

"Before leaving Chatigan, I wrote to your Reverence about our voyage, and I informed you about everything I remembered to have happened until my departure. Now I shall relate what happened afterwards up to my arrival at Chandecan, where Fr. Dominic Sosa and I are for the present, much consoled with this mission in Bengala, and hoping that God is pleased with our labours, since we have experienced already some beginnings and tokens of his pleasure, which I doubt not will be very good news to Your Reverence and to this entire province.

18. "I left Chatigan in November, and I went out of my way on a visit to Bacala, at the request of the Portuguese, who had been without the sacraments for more than two years. Father Francis Fernandez was about to send me to Arracan in his stead, but the bad state of my health prevented me from going. I judged that God arranged it so, in order that I might be the occasion of starting a residence in the kingdom of Bacala. When I arrived there, I was at once called by the King, a boy of eight, but intelligent beyond his years. I went with all the Portuguese, who most willingly under-

(38) See: "under that title". This must be the meaning of the writer, since there was a church at Hugli, if not two; and we have heard above of a church at Dianga earlier than that of Chandecan. On the supposed position of the Chandecan church at Ishwaripur, see P. L. Faulkner's article "When Pratapaditya Reigned" in *Calcutta Review* (April 1920, pp. 175-188) and his other article "In old Jashore" (*Empress*, April 1920, p. 26). Close to where the church is said to have been, there are some masonry tombs.

(39) Remark again the rapidity of the events between October and December 22, 1599. A letter from Chandecan received by him (in the beginning of October ?) makes Fr. Fernandes go to Chandecan; he stays there a month; the journey back to Sripur takes 10 days; he falls ill; two Fathers, newly arrived at Dianga on September 17, hearing about his state, come over to Sripur. They take him back to Dianga where they arrive long before the end of November, since Fr. Fonseca who went to Chandecan shortly after landing at Dianga on his return from Sripur, states that, leaving Dianga in November he arrived at Chandecan *viâ* Bacala on November 20. At Dianga the three Fathers found the Portuguese ready to go to the capital of Arakan in order to congratulate the King who had just returned victorious from Pegu. They carried Father Fernandez' letter to the King, and yet an answer from the King was received at Dianga by December 22, 1599. Fr. Fonseca, on his way to Chandecan, had made a detour to Bacala, where he obtained from the Raja a favourable document, a copy of which had come into Fr. Fernandez' hands at the time he wrote (December 22, 1599).

took the journey with me. Before I reached the palace, the King courteously sent twice messengers to say that he was awaiting us with his nobles and Captains of Fortresses in some big building. When I came into his presence, all arose. The chief place near the King had been spread with a large carpet for receiving the poor little Father and the other Portuguese. After the mutual salutations and the compliments usual when meeting, he asked me whither I was going. I said I was going to the King of Chandecan, who they say is to be the father-in-law of him of Bacala. But, since with God's help I had been brought to his own kingdom, I wished (with his kind permission) to offer him my respects in passing [and ask him] to invite the Fathers to come, and with his leave to build Churches throughout his Kingdom and impart to the inhabitants the knowledge of the one true God. He acceded willingly to my request; nay, he seemed to be eager for it himself, on account (I suppose) of what he hears daily about us. When the King had given us leave to go, I turned my attention to the Portuguese, heard their confessions, administered to them the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, and baptised several. After that, I continued my journey, although the Portuguese were against my going: they wished me to be theirs for good, and I tried to pacify them as best I could, by telling them that Fr. Francis Fernandez would come to them about Lent [1600] and that, at the end of a year, Your Reverence would send them some Father to take care of their souls. [Fol. 63 verso].

19. "The way from Bacala to Chandecan is wonderfully pleasant. All along flow deep rivers of sweet clear water; on the one side are dense shady woods, and herds of stags and cattle roaming about the plains; on the other side fields covered with rice and displaying far and wide their joyful burdens. We were travelling by the gangas or rivers; in many places and for very long distances they were so densely bordered with trees on either bank that the sun's rays could not pierce through. From the branches hung swarms of bees and honeycombs, while monkeys were playfully jumping from branch to branch. Here and there plantations of the much-prized sugarcane were to be seen. But there were Tigers too, and Crocodiles which at times fed on human flesh (40). Rhinoceroses were roaming about the forests, but we did not see any.

20. "I reached Chandecan on the 12th day before the Kalends of December [November 20, 1599]. The welcome from Fr. Dominic Sosa and all the Portuguese was most joyful. What added to their joy was that my arrival was unexpected, as they had heard I had gone to Arracan. The next day I went on a visit to the King, and offered him (what gave him no small pleasure) some fine Biringian oranges which I had brought on purpose. He received me very kindly; my present gave him joy, as there are no

(40) Fr. Hay's text has *Neque desunt tigres et crocodili, qui carne humana subinde vel incuria vel culpa nostra vescuntur*. Hence read *feed* for *fed*.

fruits of that kind in his country (41). He asked me my name, and repeated the question two or three times. I thanked him for this mark of affection towards us, since he was so anxious not to forget my name. He treats us most politely; as soon as we come into his presence, he rises and salutes us with great respect; he does the same when we go away. We attribute this respect to this reason only that he hears we observe perfect chastity, which they have the greatest reverence for and extol to the skies. We asked him for a large piece of ground near our house, so that the Neophytes might live conveniently near the Church. He granted it easily, and the diploma [of concession] was drawn up; he also ordered that the Pagans living there should pay [to the Fathers] the tribute which they owed to the King. As I had learned from Fr. Francis Fernandez that Your Reverence wished that the first Church to be built in Bengala should be dedicated to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, we tried hard to get it finished that day (42).

21. "Although the Church is such only as we could make it in a hurry, according to circumstances and our poverty, it is however sufficiently spacious, and not less pretty. We adorned it all over with different precious curtains (43) for which the Portuguese gave us much help. In fact, they are very fond of us and confess that our arrival is to them a very great blessing. We promulgated the Jubilee, according to our privilege for India (44). All who could approached the Sacraments of Penance and of the Holy Eucharist. We had to try our very best to make the feast as solemn as possible, both because this feast was for the first time celebrated in Bengala, and to make the Pagans who witnessed it ashamed of their misery.

22. "On the eve, and on the morning of the feast (44A), there were illuminations everywhere (45) and a general firing of guns, as we had had on the eve of St. Thomas' feast (46), when we planted the first Cross in the

(41) "Le lendemain j'allay saluer le Roy, et luy apportay vn present d'orenges de la race de Beringan, fort belles." (du Jarric). The derivation of the word *Biringian* remains to be determined. *Hobson-Jobson* and Mgr Dalgado's Glossaries afford no help. De Barros mentions, between Porca [Porakad] and Travancore, "Cale Coulaio, Rotoro, and Berinjan", Dames (Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. II, p. 102, note 1) identifies Berinjan with Vidingani on the south coast of Travancore. Is Berinjan noted for oranges? A friend, born in India, knows the expression "Beringian oranges", but does not know where these oranges come from.

(42) The first of January is the Feast of Circumcision and of the Most Holy Name of Jesus.

(43) Lower down *peristroma* means "carpets": perhaps also here.

(44) A plenary indulgence could be gained according to this privilege. The year 1600 must have been a jubilee year.

(44A) December 31, 1599, and January 1, 1600.

(45) There must have been fireworks too, as no feast was complete without them.

(46) Most likely the feast of St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, on December 21; not the feast of St. Thomas, Bishop and Martyr, on December 29.

cemetery (47). The King sent us word that we should not set foot in the new ground before his arrival, as he wished for the sake of greater solemnity to put us himself in possession of it. In the evening, therefore, that day having been fixed for the ceremony (48), he came with all the gentlemen of his household to the settlement of the Christians, a distance of four hours by sea (49), and at once enquired where the Fathers were. Hearing [Fol. 64 recto] that they were busy decorating the Church, he directed his course at once towards the Church. We went to meet him as he landed. He received us kindly and joyfully, and, as out of politeness we had to go in front of him, he followed us up to the Church. He entered the Church with much respect: before setting foot in the chapel (50) he took off his shoes, and he could not be persuaded to sit on a chair or on the carpet; he would sit only on the border of the mats. He enquired into the meaning and use of the things he saw on the altar. It was a good occasion, and we discoursed about God. Raising his hand to his beard, he promised to build a Church which would eclipse in beauty all those to be built in Bengala. We wait to see whether he will make the promise good. The next day, the Prince came to see the Church and its decorations, and it gave him no less pleasure than to his father. I forgot to say that, when his father went away, he wished to see the house. On going up the steps, we went first, at his request, and he came behind. When he took leave, he turned to the Portuguese present and said: "What more do you want? I have become a Padre already," which loving expression surprised all very much. We pray to God that the sequel may correspond to these beginnings. Every day, during about sixteen days, an incredible number of people of all ages and conditions came to see the Church; out of so many thousands hardly one Pagan in the whole of the country was found who stayed at home. While they came neat while they examined, they would say: 'People who do these things are not men, but Gods'. Others exclaimed: 'Lord, thou art the true God'. There were not wanting some who prayed for the recovery of their sick. On their knees, or prostrate on the ground, they manifested their worship and veneration to the unknown God, whom we beg and beseech kindly to reveal himself and make himself known to them. We are instructing some Catechumens for the reception of Baptism, and we shall soon, with God's help, build a hospital, in order to entice many unto Christ with this bait. Our house is suited to the requirements of the Society and removed from all

(47) We would expect to find a stone cross, or at least a stone with a cross, and some simple inscription, on the tombs of the more substantial Christians who died in the settlement. Until now, however, no such Christian emblems have been reported from Ishwaripur.

(48) December 31, 1599: since the Fathers were busy decorating the Church in the evening

(49) Query: by river. This would show that the King's capital was at a considerable distance from the Portuguese settlement. Travelling by river would, however, have been easy at all times; when the Fathers or the Portuguese wished to see the King, it would have been possible to go and return on the same day.

(50) "Chapel", as opposed to "Church," might mean here "the sanctuary". If Pratapaditya had not taken off his shoes on entering the building he removed them before entering the sanctuary.

intercourse. The whole ground is surrounded by a wall twenty-five feet high (51); it had been commenced before, and we completed it not without expense. The house, in addition to this excellent ground and the most pleasant site I have seen in India, has other advantages in keeping with the religious life, which the Fathers whom we expect from Your Reverence will be able to enjoy. We apply ourselves diligently to prayer and the examination of conscience at the proper times, so that by means of these exercises God may make of us worthy labourers in this Mission. This is about all I intended to write to Your Reverence. I end by commending myself earnestly to your sacrifices and prayers. Chandecan (52), the 13th before the Kalends of February 1600."

23. I wrote to your Paternity (52A) last year about the affairs of Pegu, and I explained why it did not seem advisable to send to Pegu those whom I had destined to that Mission before the ruin of that kingdom. I shall now relate a few particulars concerning the kingdom of Martavan (53) which is subject to Pegu. Your Paternity will gather from them how the lamentable overthrow itself of that Empire called us to Pegu.

24. What I have learned from Fr. Francis Fernandez about the kingdom of Martavan is more or less as follows. The Kingdom of Martavan is subject to the Pegusians, its inhabitants being Pegusians and speaking the same language. The kingdom which we call properly Pegù is to the West, Martavan to the East. The neighbouring kingdoms of Tanasarin, Jangoma (54) and Tangu (55) are very rich. Through the kingdom of Jangoma one goes to Cambogia (56) and from there to China; hence, many goods are imported from China into Jangoma [Fol. 64 verso] and Martavan. The kingdom of Martavan of which I speak is very fertile and productive; but on account of the wars in Pegu it suffered almost the same destruction [as Pegu]. When the King of Sion (57) devastated Pegu, he made re-

(51) An enormous height. One would suspect that something had gone wrong with the figures. The passage is not in du Jarric or Hay. It was probably a bamboo enclosure.

(52) From the spelling of 'Chandecan' not "Clandecan", as in Fr. Hay's Latin text, I judge that the present Latin translation was made from a Portuguese text.

(52A) Fr. Pimenta, writing from Goa, addresses the General of the Society.

(53) *Martavan*.—"The city of Martaban hath its front to the South-east, South, and South-west, and stands on a river which there enters the sea.....it is a city of Mauparagia, a Prince of the King of Pegu's"—Gasparo Balbi (1586). The place is north of Maulmain.

(54) *Jangoma, Zangomay, Iamahay, Zimme*: *sc.* Siamese Laos. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson* and also Ralph Fitch (circ. 1587): "I went from Pegu to Iamayhey, which is the country of the Langeiannes whom we call Iangomas: it is five and twenty dayes journey to the North-east from Pegu".

(55) *Toungoo*: Taung-gnu to the north of Prome.

(56) *Cambodia*.

(57) *Siam*. Sir George Scott in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (Vol. I, part I, p. 205; Rangoon, 1900) gives two derivations: "a barbarous Anglicism derived from the Portuguese or Italian word *Sciam* or else 'the Malay *Sayam* which means 'brown.' "Cf. de la Loubère (*Historical Relation of Siam*: Engl. transl. 2 vols. folio in one, 1693): "The name of Siam is unknown to the Siamese. 'Tis one of those words which the Portuguese of the Indies do use, and of which it is very difficult to discover the original".

peated incursions into Martavan, so that a great part of the inhabitants were killed, the rest were driven into the woods and mountains, and the country itself is left uncultivated and desolate. He to whom the kingdom belongs by right remains on the sea-coast with a few troops and his nephew; he is satisfied with one or two towns and cannot protect himself against the attacks of the King of Sion.

25. Martavan has three crops of rice a year. Formerly fifteen ships laden with rice would go every year to Cochin and as many to Malaca. I do not speak of the Girgili (58) and oil of which very great quantities were carried to other places. The country abounds in fruit-trees. It has the fruits so well-known to Indians, which we call Mangas, Jacchas, Jambos and Marriones (59) and many others which can vie for quality with those of the same kind among other nations. There are chestnut trees similar to ours, also oranges and many other fruits which we have in common with them. Many herbs are fragrant and medicinal. The roses are various and of many forms (60). There are also 'arvores tristes', as the Portuguese call them, because they flower at night; in reality they are most beautiful and fragrant; they drop their flowers which are not smaller than roses (61).

26. The country abounds in timber. The Techa (62) which gives one of the most valuable woods of India, and the pine, are found in endless quantities. Nowhere too can better ropes be found for every kind of ship-tackle. Every year as many as twenty ships of burden and very many biremes and triremes can easily be constructed. The trunks of the techas are often twenty braces long. There is plenty of pitch and bitumen for tarring the ships.

27. You will find mountains consisting of iron rather than of stone, whence iron is procured for all the kingdoms of Pegu. The Portuguese brought here (63) a stone, which twelve men could hardly carry; in my presence, particles were knocked from it with a hammer, from which, without any

(58) Not in Hay: du Jarric has: *huile de sisame ou iugeoline*. It is the *sesamum indicum* or *orientale*. "Girgili" is a spelling not given in *Hobson-Jobson* or Mgr. Dalgado's *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*.

(59) "Sylvae praeterea malis medicis, Massilicis, ficibus, pyris, et alijs variarum arborum fructibus plurimis et sapidissimis abundant" (Hay). "Il s'y trouue une infinité d'arbres fruitiers, come limoniers, orangiers, figuiers, poiriers, chataigniers et autres de diuerse espeece de ceux que nous auons icy" (du Jarric). What are 'marriones'? Mangas are mangoes; jacchas, jack-fruits. Jambos are jamoons or rose-apples in Garcia de Orta (1563); but the term *jambu* is applied in certain parts of India to the guava which came from America: cf. *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. guava, jamboo, jamoon.

(60) "On y trouue des roses de diuerses facons et dissemblables aux nostres" (du Jarric).

(61) See *arbol triste* in *Hobson-Jobson*: probably the *nyctanthes arbor tristis* or Arabian jasmine. See also *Arvore triste* in Mgr. Dalgado. "A tree called Arbor Tristis, which withers in the Day and blossoms in the Night"—Fryer, *A New Account of East India* (1909-1915 edn., Vol. I, p. 116).

(62) Teak: Malayalam *tekka*, Tamil *tekku*. The name was no doubt adopted because Europeans first became acquainted with the word in Malabar.

(63) To Diang:, since it is Fr. Fernandez who says that he saw it.

previous smelting, nails could at once be made. They burn so much lime that they supply all the kingdoms of Pegu with it. What shall I say about their vessels and jars, called by ours Martabans (64) and boyones (65) which surpass all other pottery vessels? What shall I say about the springs, streams and rivers irrigating that very vast country? Fishes of every kind are found in countless numbers. Herds of stags, wild boars and wild buffaloes are met with everywhere. And, though nowadays they buy cloth from other nations, formerly it was the contrary; others bought it from them. Owing to war and famine, the Indian palms (66), formerly innumerable, are now reduced to a few; the wild ones have escaped, of which there are still very many. There were also very many sugarcane plantations, from which white and brown sugar found its way all over India. Wheat sown at any season of the year ripens. The land is very productive of vegetables and leguminous plants. It has great mines of lead, tin, gold and silver (67). It abounds in the precious stones which we call Rubinos (68) and yields also plenty of excellent copper. A mass of copper worth three hundred ascs (69) fetches now even when brought to the coast twenty-five xerafins (70).

This kingdom is the port and entrance of the kingdom of Jangoma, whence white Benjuin (71), Lacre (72), copper, Cardamoms, long Pepper and Musk reach us. The harbour is deep, with an excellent entrance, and always navigable. The Martabanians trade [Fol. 65 recto] with the

(64) du Jarric has: "Icy se faisoient les vases ou grands pots de terre, communément appellez de Martauan, fort estimez par toute l'Inde à cause qu'ils sont très excellens pour y tenir et conseruer l'eau le vin, l'huyle, et autres telles liqueurs. Il en y auoit de si grands qu'ils contenoient deux coques qui font un demy muy. Tous ces quartiers d'Orient usoient pour la plupart de ces vases et mesmes s'en enuoyoient en Portugal." Cf. Hallifax, monograph on Punjab Pottery (p. 9, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*): "Martaban was the name given to vessels of a peculiar pottery, of very large size and glazed, which were also known as Pegu jars. In Upper-India the term *martaban* is still used to denote a small deep jar with an elongated body, which is used by Hindus and Muhammadans to keep pickles". Cf. also Barbosa (1516): "In the town of Martaban are made very large and beautiful porcelain vases, and some of glazed earthenware, of a black colour, which are highly valued among the Moors, and they export them as merchandise."

(65) Mgr. Dalgado (*Gloss. Luso-Asiatico*) explains this as a cylindrical vessel of glazed pottery connected with 'bojo' (Port.) or the Malay word *buyong*, a jar.

(66) Probably the coconut palm, the nuts of which were in very olden times called Indian nuts: Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*.

(67) du Jarric has: "On y trouue des mines fort riches, non seulement de plomb, d'acier, et de cuyure [cuivre]; mais encore d'argent, d'or, et de rubis à foison."

(68) Rubies.

(69) A very small Roman coin.

(70) A silver coin formerly current at Goa and other eastern ports, of the value of somewhat less than one shilling and six pence. In Portuguese currency it varied from 300 to 360 reis. The word is derived by Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*) from the Arabic *ashrafi* or "noble".

(71) Benjuin—see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Benjamin; a kind of incense, *Styrax benzoin* (Dryander), from the Arabic *luban-jawi*, 'Java frankincense'.

(72) Lac. Cf. Duarte Barbosa (1516): "Here [in Pegu] they load much fine laquar, which grows in the country". Lac "is a strange drugge made by certain winged Pismires of the gumme of Trees" (Purchas, p. 569. 1627).

people of Cocin, Negapatam, [San] Thomé, Masulapatam, Bengala, Tanassarín, Iusulan, (73) Achen and Malaca.

28. The city which they are giving to the Portuguese is surrounded by a wall and a moat on the side of the mainland (74). It has many buildings suited to our purpose and manner of living. When the Portuguese living there saw its similarity with our towns, they did not hesitate to appoint as is our custom, buildings for public purposes in suitable places; for the confraternity of Mercy (75), the Bishop's See (76) and the monasteries of Religious they selected their sites and buildings. The house of Mercy is already finished and completed (77). Near the gate, there is a well, and in the centre of the grounds a shady tree, under which the goods of the deceased are put up for sale (78). A former temple of the Talapo (79) is has now been changed into a Church for the episcopal see (80). To our Society also a very large ground has been assigned, which was formerly the great Varella (81) and is now called the St. Paul's Church (82). It is situated on an eminence, whence the eyes dwell on a most beautiful prospect in every direction on the whole country beneath. From the bottom

(73) *Iusulan*—Junk Ceylon, an island off the west coast of the Malay Peninsula; cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., Junk Ceylon.

(74) du Jarric has: "A ceste cause (*to be able to defend themselves against Siam*) le Roy, et le Prince son nepueu offrirent aux Portugais vne cite pour y venir demeurer, laquelle estoit ceinte de murailles basties de pierre et de chaux, avec vn fossé profond du costé de la terre, estant enuironnée d' eau des autres deux costés. Il y auoit force bastimens, qui pouuoient estre aisément accommodés à la façon des nostres. En chascue maison il y auoit vn puy et vn jardin avec force arbres. Les Portugais furent là pour voir la commodité du lieu, et auoient desjà fait le departiment d'vne grande partie de la ville pour les bastiments publics: comme pour la grande Eglise, et les maisons Religieuses. L'hospital estoit desjà tout basty, et fort commodément. La grande Eglise encore, car c' estoit le Xaropo ou temple des Talopoyens, qui sont comme leurs Prestres. Ils auoient aussi choisy vne place, qu'on appelloit jadis la grande chapelle pour les Pères de la Compagnie, et hors de la cité vne autre pour les Pères Capucins, fort propre pour leur solitude."

(75) du Jarric refers to it as "l'hospital".

(76) The chief Church, even in places where there was no Bishop, was usually designated by the Portuguese as the *Se* (See), now often miscalled 'Cathedral'.

(77) The meaning must be, from du Jarric, that a building was found adapted to the purposes of the Confraternity of Mercy.

(78) One of the good works of the Confraternity *da Misericordia* consisted in disposing in the best way possible of the property of Portuguese and other Europeans dying in India, and sending the value to their heirs. It was a religious institution, and had a chapel for its members in the chief Portuguese settlements.

(79) The name given by the Portuguese to the Buddhist priests of Burma, probably from their using fans made of the talipot palm: cf. *Hobson-Jobson*. du Jarric calls this temple "le Xaropo ou temple des Talapoyens."

(80) In the Church to be served by the secular clergy (?) under the Bishop of Cochín.

(81) *Varela* is the word always used for a Buddhist temple in Burma or Arakan. The word is not in Hay, or du Jarric.

(82) The Jesuit Fathers in India were generally called Fathers of St. Paul or Paulites, from their College of Sao Paulo da Santa Fè at Goa. Is it necessary to add that in the city of Martaban where the Portuguese hoped to settle there were no Jesuits yet? The name of the city is not given. Was it Martaban, Maulmain, or some other place?

to the top of the hill, there is a broad paved way; from there a flight of about thirty stone steps leads to the top. On the top where the ground is level, is the site of the College of St. Paul; it is surrounded by a conspicuous embattled wall, and contains gardens and many buildings. Opposite the harbour, there is a mountain looking very much like the Promontory of the Blessed Virgin in the harbour of Goa. Outside the town, a site was assigned to the Capuchin Friars (83), which is adapted to their life of solitude; it is in a valley planted with fruit trees and Indian fig trees (84); near it is a tank paved at the bottom. The whole city, therefore, and the adjacent country looks like a picture. The houses have wells of very wholesome water and gardens planted with trees. And the Portuguese are so fully persuaded that these places will some day belong to Christians, that they frequently speak thus: "Let us go to the College of St. Paul; let us pay a visit to the Church of Mercy; let us go to the Promontory of the Blessed Virgin" (85). So, whenever their trade brings them there, they feel as if they were going to stay at Goa, in Churches and houses of Christians.

29. The climate of the country is so mild that sickness is unknown and doctors altogether non-existent. The people are polite and affable, and care little for heathen rites and ceremonies. They eat with us, and do not show themselves particular, or averse to the true faith. The Talapoïs themselves, their Priests, come to the Churches and venerate the images of Saints, chiefly the crucifix; and they are not unwilling to learn the Christian doctrine (86). They confess candidly that their reason for observing the laws and customs of their country is that they have no one to teach them a better religion. The Prince, the heir to the kingdom, on entering the Church, knelt down and kissed the altar, and turning to the image of Christ crucified, which was on the altar, he said that that was his Lord, and that he wished very much to have a priest near him from whom he might receive baptism; and he promised to become a Christian soon. Meanwhile, as a token and earnest of his promise, he gave to Antonio Correa de Lemos a ring containing a precious ruby. His foster-brother, who is a great man, could with difficulty be made to leave the Church. "Would," he sighed, "there were a priest here to cut this hair of mine and baptise me with my whole family" (87). He comes to the Church regularly and every day he converses with

(83) I have somewhere a letter of a Dominican who visited Pegu at least ten years earlier. Later, the Dominicans claimed and, it now appears, not without some right, priority of occupation in Pegu, against the Jesuit Fathers.

(84) Plaintain trees (*Hobson-Jobson*: see also Mgr. Dalgado). Medieval travellers generally call the fruit "Fig of Paradise", or sometimes "Fig of India". The Portuguese habitually called it "Indian Fig."

(85) In Hay, the natives are made to speak thus.

(86) The Catechism. Was it the Portuguese text? This cannot be entertained: and there could have been no vernacular translation yet, since there were no priests permanently fixed in the country. Probably oral explanations of the Catechism are meant.

(87) du Jarric: "Le mesme dit vn sien frère de laict, qui estoit fort grand seigneur, lequel ne vouloit point partir de l'Eglise, sans estre baptisé; mais entendant que celà ne se pouuoit fair sans que quelque Père l'eut instruit au prealable, et par apres le baptisast, il se mit avec vn grand souspir à dire, ô ! que n'ai-je maintenant un Père qui me coupe ces cheveux et me baptise avec tous mes subjects".

the Portuguese about the chief points of the Christian faith (88). [Fol. 65 verso].

30. But let us return to the Prince. He is called Banhablai (89), which means the small Lord. He is a young man of noble appearance and always cheerful. Under him he has thirty thousand men who will become Christians without difficulty. About two hundred thousand people live in the mountains and forests; but, if they hear there are Portuguese in the city to defend them, they will at once hasten to place themselves under the Prince's rule. His uncle Banhalai (90) or the great Lord, is a decrepit old man who may die at any moment. After his death the Prince will succeed to the Kingdom and to the old man's treasures, which they say are very great, although he asserts openly that he cares for no other treasures, for no other riches but baptism and his soul's salvation. So much so that he was nearly on the point of embarking with the Portuguese and going to Goa (91). Let those who will read this consider whether this mission should be made light of; let them consider that, if merchants seek riches, gold and pearls and precious stones, and for that alone dig to the bowels of the earth and travel round the globe, all these things are to be found abundantly in this kingdom, and that, if religious yearn with all their heart for their neighbour's salvation, here the harvest is white, the crop ripe. Let them come, let them hasten, let them come flying, to reap fruit unto eternal life. Thus far Fr. Francis Fernandez.

31. Fr. John Andrew Boves sailed from Bengala to the said kingdoms of Pegu. Your Paternity will have the reason of his going thither from his own letter dated the 5th before the Kalends of April of the year 1600 (92).

"After writing in triplicate to your Reverence (93) from Bengala, I have just now found an opportunity of writing to you from Pegu. I am confident that what I have to say will give Your Reverence great pleasure, unless the said ruin of this very powerful kingdom fills you with grief; and, though there are many things about which I doubt not Your Reverence

(88) du Jarric says of him: "Il parloit bien la langue Portugaise." And Hay: "Callet optime idioma Lusitanicum." So too the Mainz edition.

(89) *Banhablai*, "small lord"; and, lower down, *Banhalai*, "great lord". From the Burmese *ba-yin*. Cf. Mgr. Dalgado, *Gloss. Luso-Asiatico*, Vol. I, p. 81, Vol. II, 463: s.v. *bainha* or *banha*, where we find the forms *bainha* and *Chaubainha* (1545) *baigna* (1582) *banha* (1603) *banha dala* "que era maior senhor de Pegu" (1617).

(90) I adopt the form in du Jarric.

(91) Probably the Portuguese who embarked for Goa touched at Dianga on their way back and acquainted Fr. Fernandez with these details.

(92) March 28, 1600. At the end of the letter the date is: 13th before the Kalends of April, or March 20, 1600. The date in the Mainz edition and in Hay is March 28. The difference must be due to the similarity between 28 and 20. Fr. Boves would, in writing to Fr. Pimenta in Portuguese, have used the Portuguese style of dating. The Latin translator, converting this into the Roman style, read March 28 when he began the letter and March 20, when he wrote the end.

(93) Fr. Nicholas Pimenta was the Visitor of Goa.

would like to be informed, I shall only, for want of time, touch on the chief points, hoping to write more lengthily next year, God willing.

32. "Your Reverence has learned sufficiently from the letters of the previous years that the King of Pegu had been besieged by the King of Arracan and also by the King of Tangu, who had married the King of Pegu's sister. Finally last December, pressed by famine and especially by want of troops, the King of Pegu surrendered to the King of Tangu, who, traitor as he was, at once broke his word and killed him (94).

The reason why he gave himself up was that his own son, the heir to the throne, who (as he said) had long advised his father not to surrender, now left his father, and, in an evil hour, betook himself to the Kingdom of Tangu, to the queen, who, we said, was his father's sister. But his aunt had him executed on the plea that one who had proved unfaithful to his father would not be faithful to herself and the King. The spoils and the wealth which the King of Tangu carried away from Pegu can hardly be estimated, hardly be computed in numbers. To speak only of the gold and precious stones which he took away from the town (for he of Pegu had stored all his treasures in the town), the quantity was such that he loaded with it on twelve different trips seven hundred beasts of burden, partly elephants, partly horses. Even then he did not leave the treasure empty; for he left the silver and other metals behind, as of no value. The news of this was brought quickly to the King of Arracan who happened then to be away (95). Hearing that the King of Tangu had evaded the terms of the treaty, he hastened at once to the fortress of Macao (96), whither the

(94) The King of Arakan had come back victorious to his capital at Arakan by about November 10, 1599, or some time before December, since by December 22, 1599, a letter of his from Arakan had been received by Fr. Fernandez at Dianga. The Mainz edition and Fr. Hay say that the King of Tangu slew both the King and Queen of Pegu. Fr. Guerreiro (*Relation 1600-1601*) says the same. Manrique mentions the queen as alive in 1630 at the Court of Arakan. Cf. du Jarric: "Après que le dernier Roy de Pegu, nommé Brama, eust esté long temps assiégé en vne forte place de son Royaume, appelée Machao, par les Rois d'Aracan, et de Tangu (le dernier desquels auoit vne soeur de celui de Pegu à femme) et se voyant fort pressé non tant de la famine combien qu'ells fut très-grande en sa forteresse, que pour faute de gens qui la deffendissent, il se rendist à eux le mois de Decembre de l'an 1599, cedant au Roy d'Aracan le Royaume de Pegu, et l'Elephant blanc, qui estoit à son auis, et à celuy des autres Princes d'Orient, la plus riche piece qu'il eust, et luy baillant vne de ses filles en mariage, avec deux de ses enfans pour ostages. Mais il fia sa propre personne, celle de sa femme, et d'autres treize enfans qu'il auoit, à celuy de Tangu, son beaufrère; estimant, que ce sacré lien et la foy qu'il luy auoit, juree, l'obligeroit à luy estre humain et debonaire. Neantmoins comme ces gens là sont barbares et desloyaux, celà n'eust pas grand pouuoir à l'endroit du Tanguan; lequel se voyant assiégé par le Roy de Aua, à l'occasion du Roy de Pegu, qu'il pretendoit retirer de ses mains, il prit cela pour pretexte de sa cruauté and desloyauté: de sorte qu'il fit massacrer de sang froid son beaufrère, le Roy de Pegu, la Roïne femme d'iceley, avec ses treize enfans, qu'il auoit en son pouuoir: et après s'vsurpa le plus précieux de ses thrésors (qui estoient tres-grands) comme nous dirons bien tost".

(95) He had gone back to Arakan, as we have seen.

(96) *Macao*. On the Pegu river was the port of the city of that name. A village still exists on the spot. "From Cirion [Syriam] we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne where we left our boats and paroes [small craft], and in the morning taking Delingeages [dandies] which are a kind of Coches made of cords and cloth quilted and carried upon a stang betweene 3 and 4 men: we came to Pegu the same day" (Ralph Fitch, 1587).

King of Pegu had formerly betaken himself and called out all the Portuguese whom he had presented with fields and revenues in Bengala, telling them to be in readiness in case he had to fight him of Tangu. Among them was Philip de Brito, than whom there was not among the Portuguese a wealthier man or one more acceptable to the King. He insisted that one of us should go with them. [Fol. 66 recto]. Fr. Francis Fernandez laid the duty on me. On the 5th before the Kalends of March (97), I embarked with the said Philip de Brito, and (God giving us a good wind) on the fifteenth day we landed at the harbour of Sirian (98) till lately a most famous and frequented harbour. Its distance from the fortress of Macao is eighteen miles. It was not without tears that we saw there the banks and the neighbourhood covered with fruit trees of all sorts, but all the inhabitants dead. Enormous temples with gilded walls and other buildings lay in ruins here and there and the villages and hamlets were burnt down. No sound of human voice was heard; no inhabitants were found; Pegu was turned into a desert, a dismal solitude. The streets of the towns, the cross-roads, especially near the temples, lay strewn with skulls and bones. A great part had died of famine, many had been killed in civil strife, and the greatest part had been slain by the King himself, who with unheard of barbarity, executed many setting fire to villages and towns burning entire populations and throwing into the river such a number of corpses that the current was choked and even the smallest boats could not get through. No crueller tyrant can be found in books of history or the annals of kings. But I require leisure to speak of this terrible tragedy (98): next year, with God's help, I hope to do so, unless Your Reverence lays another burden on my shoulders.

33. "I am waiting in the port of Sirian for an opportunity of paying a visit to the King of Arracan, who (as I said above) is collecting at the fortress of Macao the silver and other metals which the King of Tangu left behind: they are estimated at more than thirty times a hundred thousand gold pieces (100). Meanwhile, the King of Sion and the King of Jangoma, the

(97) March 25, 1600, according to Hay and du Jarric. But "March 25" is clearly wrong, since Fr. Boves, writing at least a fortnight later, dates his letter March 28 or 20: see note (92). The month is also incorrect: for "the 5th before the Kalends of March" is February 25 (1600). The "5th before the Kalends of March" is not affected in leap-years.

(98) *Sirian*—Syriam on the Pegu river near its confluence with the Rangoon river: six miles east of Rangoon. It was the site of an English factory in the seventeenth century. "To Cirion a Port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, scarlets, velvets, opium and such like" (Ralph Fitch, 1587). Cf. the account of Boves' journey in Purchas (ii. 1748): "I went thither with Philip Brito, and in fifteen days arrived at Sirian the chief Port in Pegu. It is a lamentable spectacle to see the bankes of the Rivers set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now overwhelmed with ruines of gilded temples and noble edifices: the wayes and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished, and cast into the River in such numbers that the multitude of carkasses prohibiteth the way and passage of ships".

(99) There had been cases of cannibalism. Human flesh had been sold openly in the bazars. The history of Burma during the fifteenth century is one of the most awful on record. War was a yearly adventure.

(100) *Aureus* in these texts would mean a gold crown, of the value more or less of a ducat, which averaged about 9s. 4d. Du Jarric adds: "Sans compter l'artillerie, qui s'y trouua fort belle, et en grande quantite, car il y auoit trois mille deux cents pieces de canon."

deceased King's brother, coveting that immense treasure, combine to wage war on the King on Tangu and are already besieging him closely. There is no knowing how these things will turn. The king of Arracan too does not know what to do (101). In the course of this expedition the King of Sion invaded Martavan (102). At first defeated in two battles, he ordered to roast in red-hot kettles two captains who had been rather careless in the execution of their duties. Victorious in a third encounter, he drove into the woods and deserts the Prince and Banhalai, his uncle, who directed the campaign, and in this way the King of Sion has made himself master of the whole of Martavan.

34. "The King of Arracan too rules it over the kingdom of Pegu, but it is a kingdom without inhabitants. To Philip de Brito he gave the port of Sirian, in order that he should build in the port a fortress in his own name and that of the King of Portugal (103). All the Portuguese will be free to come here, which will be greatly advantageous to Portuguese interests. The King also allowed the rebellious Pegusians and all those who are roaming about the woods and mountains to come freely to this fortress of Sirian, which is already being built. No doubt, Philip de Brito, powerful and brave as he is, will bring all this to a successful issue. What he most desires is that men of our Society be the first to set foot here, and he asked me to mention this to Your Reverence in his name. I do so, and willingly; for I hope that, when the people here will be under the power and government of the Portuguese, the soil will yield a copious and excellent harvest of Christians. It was my intention to go back to Bengala in the beginning of May, before the winter [monsoon], but I could not allow myself to miss the opportunity offered to me, and so much desired (I should think) by Your

(101) Du Jarric gives further details taken from later letters: "Le Roy d'Aracan si tost qui il fut aduerty de l'arriuee de Philippe de Brito, et du Père aussi, les manda venir tous deux à la forteresse de Machao, où il estoit, et receut fort amiablement et courtoisement le Père lequel ne fut pas là inutile. Car outre qu'il obtint du Roy les despesches, qu'il desiroit, il entendit de confessions, et repeust de la sacrée communion tous les Portugais et autres Chrestiens, qui estoient en son armée; parce que c'estoit au temps de Caresme. Et la sepmaine sainte, le jour du leudy absolu, il dressa vn monument fort deuot, à la facon des Eglises Catholiques d'Europe, pour y mettre reposer le precieux corps de nostre sauveur IESVS CHRIST. Le Roy en estant aduerty vint le voir et le Prince aussi son fils aîné; dont ils furent tous deux fort edifiez."

(102) Du Jarric (French edn: III, 842): "En ces entrefaictes, et tandis que le Roy de Aracan estoit à Machao, recueillant le reste des despoilles du Roy de Pegu, le Roy de Iangoma, frère de ce miserable Prince, s'estant ligué avec le Roy de Sion contre celui de Tangu, leuent tous deux vne puissante armée, avec laquelle ils vont assiéger le Tanguan, pour auoir raison à prendre vengeance, comm' ils disoient, de la perfidie et cruauté, dont il auoit vsé enuers le Roy de Pegu. Mais en fin ils vindrent à s'accorder, et laissèrent en paix le Roy de Tangu, ayant eu, comm' il est croyable, quelque lippée du butin; qui estoit à ce qu'on pense, tout ce qu'ils pretendoient. Au retour de ce siège, le Roy de Sion alla fondre sur le Royaume de Martauan."

(103) "Phillip de Brito issued an order that a custom-house should be planted at Seriao at which duties should be paid by all vessels of this State which went to trade with the Kingdom of Pegu and with the ports of Martavan, Tavay, Tenasserim and Juncalon." (*Decada da Historia da India*, composta por Antonio Bocarro: 1606).

Reverence. Hence, I thought I should wait till an answer from Father Francis Fernandez calls me back. I understand that Philip de Brito will call Religious of other orders, if we decline this Mission. (Fol. 66 verso). Let Your Reverence examine what is to be done, and how important it is for us to commend to the Divine Providence this residence and those of Arracan and Chatigan. I am confident that we shall manage everything properly, which hope is daily increased by Philip de Brito, whose favour and influence with the King are very great. Kindly commend me to Fr. Provincial (104) and to all my very dear Fathers and Brothers. From the harbour of Sirian, the 13th before the Kalends of April " (105).

NOTE ON DIANGA.

It is generally difficult to reconstruct topography from old pictures. But I have little doubt that the Dutch print, which is reproduced opposite page 56, represents Dianga, the Bandel of the Portuguese, at the mouth of the Karnaphuli or Chittagong river. The sea, which appears to form the background, is barely three miles from the Bandel of Dianga which I visited. The southern bank is hilly, and so also, if I recollect rightly, the northern or right bank. Bandel is, however, such a loose term that it is not easy to determine when it refers to a Portuguese settlement, and when not. At present, at Chittagong itself, which is some five or six miles from Dianga, the place round the Catholic Church goes by the name of Bandel. In the Latin inscription "Arakan" may be construed either in apposition to "emporium" (the emporium called Arakan) or as dependent upon it (emporium of the country of Arakan). The Dutch inscription supports the former: otherwise, the wording would be "Van Arrakan." But the meaning of "reede" favours Dianga. A "reede" is a bay of the sea, where ships can "ride" at anchor. That would fit Dianga, whereas the old capital of Arakan lay at some distance from the sea and was approached by river from Akyab. As for Akyab, the name does not appear, I believe, during the 17th and 18th centuries: and it would be surprising to find the term Bandel applied to it. It is, of course, possible that the place intended is Chittagong itself, but I am inclined to identify it with Dianga.—H. H.

(104) The Provincial of Goa, as opposed to the Visitor, who was Fr. Pimenta.

(105) March 25, 1600: but more probably "5th before the Kalends of April" or March 28, 1600; see notes (92) and (97).

“The Subaltern’s Gold Mohur.”

THOSE members of the Calcutta Historical Society who possess copies of the earlier volumes of *Bengal: Past and Present*, will find by reference to page 181 of the third volume that the following problem was propounded for solution by Mr. Norman McLeod in the year 1909:—

As you probably know, some baboo left a sum of money or property in trust for the payment of a daily fee of Rs. 15 to the officer on guard at Fort William. I have often heard people express a curiosity as to the history of the fund, but there seems to be nothing authentic, and even the Military authorities are in the dark regarding it, possibly from the fact that the property has much appreciated, though they still pay the subaltern only Rs. 15. I think a short note on the subject would interest members, and, perhaps, you could move some one served in Old Calcutta to make an inquiry and clear up the facts.

Mr. McLeod’s request for information remained unsatisfied at the time; but the payment of the “subaltern’s gold mohur” was made regularly until the first of April last, when it was discontinued under the orders of the Government of India in the Army Department (1).

What was the origin of this curious practice? The story current in Fort William is that the fund was established by an Indian merchant whose son fell into the moat and was pulled out by the officer on guard. Others say that an elderly Indian was suddenly taken ill while in the Fort, and that he adopted this agreeable method of showing his gratitude to the officer on guard who took him inside the guard-room and attended to him. If these legends have any foundation in fact, the fund must have been a substantial one, for a daily payment of Rs. 15 calls for a capital investment, at five per cent., of more than a lakh of rupees.

The existence of the custom can be traced back to the month of February, 1777. An allusion to the payment occurs in the volume of Military Consultations for that year (2), in the course of a letter addressed on February 26, 1777, by the Commissary General (Nathaniel Brassey Halhed) to the Board of Inspection. He writes:

1. Before I close my audit of the last year’s accounts, I request your Honourable Board will be pleased to furnish me with Instructions upon the following Articles:—

* * * * *

7. Fifteen Rupees per diem is constantly drawn for the Captain of the Main Guard at the New Fort. As I can find no General

(1) Letter A—29935 (A. G. 10) to the Adjutant General in India, dated Simla, December 20, 1924.

(2) The volume is not available in Calcutta, and the extracts have been courteously supplied by Mr. Mitchell, the Superintendent of Records at the India Office.

Order whatever for this charge I humbly beg it may be authorized or rejected by the Honourable Board. As also four rupees per diem for the Captain Commanding the Invalids, which he draws for that command exclusive of his pay as Captain.

Mr. Isaac Baugh, the Secretary to the Board, replied on March 17 that "these allowances to the Captain of the Main Guard and Captain commanding the Invalids appearing to the Board to be reasonable, the same will be authorised by express order."

This decision is quoted in Captain Henry Grace's Appendix to the Code of Bengal Military Regulations, published in Calcutta in 1791. On page 438 the following will be found:

60 (M.C. 17th March, 1777). That an allowance of 15 rupees per day be granted to the Captain or officer commanding the main guard, in the garrison of Fort William.

No General Orders of so early a date as 1777 are available: but as Captain Grace gives the Military Consultations as the authority, it would seem that no General Order was issued. The allowance was however definitely sanctioned by the then Military Department of the Government of India as lately as 1884 (3); and the money was disbursed by the Military Accounts Department.

The memory of the pious founder has been held in high honour by the subalterns of the various British infantry battalions which have been stationed in the Fort: and in that quarter at least the disappearance of the time-honoured and welcome addition to their pay will be regretted on very different grounds from those which are likely to appeal to the sentimental historian.

H. E. A. C.

[Reprinted (by permission) from the *Statesman* of August 2, 1925.]

(3) Military Department letter 239-B, dated March 31, 1884.

Baptisms in Calcutta : 1786 to 1788.

THE list of Baptisms in Calcutta from 1767 to 1788 (of which the fourth and concluding portion is now printed, covering the period from 1786 to 1788) completes the transcript made by the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge of the Imperial Library, from the Registers of St. John's Church. Previous extracts from the Register have appeared in the following numbers of *Bengal: Past and Present* :—

Baptisms in Calcutta: 1713 to 1758: Vol. XXI, pp. 143 to 159.
1759 to 1766: Vol. V, pp. 325 to 332.
1767 to 1777: Vol. XXV, pp. 139 to 155.
1778 to 1782: Vol. XXVI, pp. 142 to 168.
1783 to 1785: Vol. XXVIII, pp. 193 to 221.

Marriages in Calcutta: 1713 to 1754: Vol. IX, pp. 217 to 243.
1759 to 1778: Vol. IV, pp. 486 to 512.
1780 to 1785: Vol. VII, pp. 164 to 171.
1785 to 1792: Vol. XVI, pp. 41 to 71.
1781 to 1800 (Supplementary Register) : Vol. XXI,
pp. 76 to 141.

Burials in Calcutta: 1713 to 1755: Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.
1759 to 1761: Vol. V, pp. 136 to 142.
1762 to 1774: Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

NOTE.—Many of the succeeding entries relate to individuals who figure in the entries from 1767 to 1785, and of whom biographical details have been given in that connexion. For obvious reasons the information has not been repeated.

1786.

- Jan. 6. Thos. Boyle, son of Thos. Bolton, Esq., a Major in the H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (1)
„ 9. Mary, daughter of Jos. Bernard Smith, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service and Rosina, his wife.
„ 11. Felicieuse Leonora, daughter of Mr. John Henry Guinaud and Perette, his wife. (2)
„ —. Henry Collier and Chas. Cromwell, sons of Mr. Wm. Phillips Williams and Ann, his wife. (3)

- Jan. —. Ann, daughter of Mr. Thos. Potenger, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service. (4)
- „ —. Eliza, daughter of Mr. Joshua Williams, Factor in the Co.'s Service. (5)
- Mr. Johnson baptized the last 4 children but could not recollect the days—T. B[LANSHARD].
- Feb. 11. Eleanor, daughter of Capt. Geo. Gowan of the Sepoys, aged about 5 years. (6)
- „ Thomas, son of Capt. Geo. Gowan of the Sepoys, aged about 3 years.
- „ 11. Henry Augustus, son of Lt. Wm. Hastings of the Sepoys, aged 2 years.
- Mar. 12. Thos., son of Geo. Spencer and Rosa Sylva, his wife.
- „ 10. John, son of Ambrose Kippling, Commander of a Vessel. (7)
- Apl. 15. Helen, daughter of Thos. Graham, Esq., and Ann, his wife. Privately baptised.
- „ 23. Jas. Norman, son of Mr. Edwd. Creighton, Shopkeeper, and Ann, his wife. (8)
- „ 27. Maria, daughter of Lt.-Col. Thos. Call, Chief Engineer and Bethia, his wife.
- „ 27. Chas. Thos., son of Capt. Thos. Higgins and Frances, his wife.
- May 17. Frances, daughter of Lieut. Wm. Major, deceased, and (blank), his wife.
- July 3. John, son of Mr. Eldred Addison, Sr. Mercht., in the Service. (9)
- „ 13. Harriet, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Allen Macpherson, and Eliza, his wife. (10)
- „ 22. Thos. Chas., son of Willm. Jackson, Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife.
- „ 29. Geo. Augustus Chicheley, son of Mr. Richd. Chicheley Plowden, Factor, H. C.'s Service, and Sophia, his wife. (11)
- Aug. 6. Robt. Henry, son of Mr. Wm. Dick, Asst. Surgn., and Charlotte, his wife. (12)
- „ 8. Sophia, daughter of Capt. Chas. Russell Deare and Catherine, his wife. Born 26th May last.
- „ 15. Edwd. Durham, son of Mr. John Hall, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Joan, his wife. (13)
- „ 25. Henrietta Peregrina, daughter of Mr. Fras. L'Herondell, Atty.-at-Law, and Mary, his wife.

- Sept. 12. Thomas, son of Mr. Wm. Ledlie, Atty.-at-Law, and Ann, his wife. (14)
 „ 28. Willm. Wright, son of Mr. Wm. Luard, and Ann, his wife.
- Oct. 16. Willm. Robt., son of Mr. Ross Jennings, and Sarah, his wife. (15)
- Nov. 17. William, son of Mr. Robt. Arthur Pritchard, and Mary, his wife.
 „ 19. John Hume, son of Mr. Henry Hume, Pilot, and Sarah, his wife.
 „ 30. Alexr. John, son of Mr. Alexr. Colvin and Maria Margt., his wife. (16).
- Dec. 1. Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Jas. Reeves, Mercht., and Mary, his wife.
 „ 1. Eliza, daughter of Capt. Christopher Green. Aged 7 years. (17)
 „ 3. Frances, daughter of Mr. Willm. Howard, Cryer of the Court, and Elizth., his wife.
 „ 4. Saml, son of Mr. Henry Swinhoe, Atty.-at-Law, and Jane, his wife. (18)
 „ 14. Emma, daughter of Mr. Pellegrine Treves, writer and Hetty, his wife. (19)
 „ 29. Maria, daughter of Mr. Robt. Bathurst, Sr. Mercht., and Maria, his wife. (20)
 „ 29. Robt. Geo., son of Mr. Robt. Saml. Perreau, and Mary, his wife. (21)
 „ 31. Maria Clementina, daughter of Capt. Willm. Kirkpatrick, and Maria, his wife. (21A)

Copy of the Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials sent home by the *Berrington* Indiaman 25th Jan. 1787 and a Duplicate of the same 5th March, 1787, by the *Oxford*. (22)
 T. B[LANSHARD].

1787.

- Jan 1. Willm. John, son of Mr. Willm. Phillips Williams, lately deceased and Anna, his wife.
 „ 3. Catherine, daughter of Mr. Henry Vansittart, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, lately deceased and Catherine Mary, his wife. (23)
 „ 3. Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Benjamin Grindall, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Charlotte, his wife. (24)
 „ 3. Maria Theresa, daughter of Capt. Richd. Humfray of the Engr. Corps, and Margt., his wife. (25)

- Jan. 4. Margt., daughter of Major Wm. Cairnes, H. M.'s Service, and Jane, his wife. (25A)
- „ 5. Charlotte Elizth., daughter of the Hon. David Anstruther, and Mary, his wife. (26)
- „ 10. Charlotte Louisa, daughter of Mr. John Bristow, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Amelia, his wife.
- „ 17. Henry and Harriet, children of Mr. Henry Griffiths, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service. (27)
- „ 21. Alice, daughter of Lieut. Willm. Downs.
- „ 21. Frances, daughter of Mr. Wm. Saxon. Aged 19 months.
- „ 21. George, son of Mr. Wm. Saxon. Aged 5 months.
- „ 22. Alexr., son of Mr. John Henry Guinaud, and Perette, his wife.
- „ 27. Harriet, daughter of Capt. Geo. Aubrey, from Madras, and Anne, his wife. (28)
- Feb. 6. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Francis Gladwin, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (29)
- „ 6. John Herbert, son of Mr. John Williams, Asst. Surgn.
- „ 7. Eliza, daughter of Hon. Robt. Lindsay, Sr. Mercht. (30)
- „ 24. Polly, daughter of Mr. Christopher Keating, Sr. Mercht. (31)
- Mar. 6. Fairfax, son of Mr. Fairfax Moresby, Atty.-at-Law, and Mary, his wife. (32)
- „ 7. William, son of Mr. Archd. Montgomerie, Sr. Mercht., and Maria, his wife.
- „ 9. Sarah, daughter of Lieut. Willm. Blundell. Aged about one year.
- „ 9. Mary, daughter of Lieut. Willm. Blundell.
- „ 17. Edmund Buttall, son of Capt. Thos. Higgins, and Frances, his wife.
- „ 28. Cornwallis, son of Mr. Willm. Nathan Wright Hewett, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Martha, his wife. (33)
- „ 18. George, son of Christian Smith.
- „ —. Mary Frances, daughter of Richd. Johnson, Esq. Born 4th Oct., 1785. Inserted by me, J. Owen, Chaplain to the Garrison of Fort Wm. Oct. 20, 1790. (34)
- Apl. 23. Warren Hastings Leslie, son of Capt. Robt. Frith, and Elizth., his wife. (35)
- „ 23. Elizth. Margt., daughter of Mr. Robt. Grant, Factor H. C.'s Service. (36)
- May 3. Ann, daughter of Mr. Geo. Dandridge, Jr. Mercht. (37)

- May 5. Johanna Anthonia, daughter of Johannes Cornelis Heyning, and Maria Jacoba Bogaardt., his wife.
- „ 5. Louisa Christina Barentzeta, daughter of Hans Swane Fretz., and Johanna Barbara Keytel, his wife.
- „ 5. Anna Wilhelmina, daughter of Jacob Cuenraad Rayson and Maria Magdalena Van Gennip, his wife.
At Chinsurah. (38)
- „ 10. James, son of Joseph Garnault, Esq., Commander of the *Ganges* Indiaman. (39)
- „ 12. Willm., son of Mr. Hume Jackson, Taylor, and Ann, his wife.
- „ 16. Robt., son of Nathl. Bateman, Esq.
- June 24. Willm., son of Mr. Wm. Armstrong. Aged 6 years. (39A)
- „ 25. Willm. Henry Chicheley, son of Richd. Chicheley Plowden, Esq., and Elizth. Sophia, his wife. (40)
- „ 25. John Hay son of John Burgh, Esq., and Elizth. Mary, his wife. (41)
- „ 25. Eliza Cheap, daughter of Major Saml. Farmer. (41A)
- „ 26. Thos., Uvedale Stephens. son of Thos. Raban, Esq., and Catharine, his wife. (42)
- „ 30. Charlotte, daughter of Lieut. Benjamin Warren, deceased. Aged 2 years.
- July 4. John James, son of James Mary Carlier (servant to John Wilton, Esq.), and Adelaide Vette. Aged abt. one year. (43)
- „ 8. James, son of the late Jas. Johnson, Seaman, deceased. Aged 18 months.
- „ 31. Jas., Henry Dundas son of Capt. Jas. Denty, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Lydia, his wife. Born at Sea 11th April last.
- Aug. 11. Henry Geo., son of Willm. Jackson, Esq., Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife.
- „ 12. Sarah, Arabella and Charles, children of Lieut. Thos. Hawkins, 5th Battn. of Sepoys. Aged respectively 5, 4 and 2 years. (44)
- „ 12. Elizth., daughter of Lieut. John Dawson, 5th Battn. of Sepoys. (45)
- „ 12. Harry, son of Lieut. Edwd. Clayton, 5th Battn. of Sepoys.
- „ 13. Elizth. Catherine, daughter of Lieut. Alexr. Macdonald.

- Aug. 18. Sophia Louisa, daughter of Mr. Willm. Dent, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Louisa, his wife. (46)
- „ 26. Richd., Campbell son of Rich. Signey, a Cafree Protestant.
- Sept. 7. Harriot Sophia, daughter of Mr. Henry Ramus, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Johanna, his wife. (47)
- Oct. 6. Anna Maria, daughter of Mr. Thos. Graham, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Ann, his wife.
- „ 7. James, son of James Kilpatrick, Seaman in the Pilot Service, and Ann, his wife. (48)
- „ 14. John Peter, son of Joseph Aberdare, a Cafree Protestant, and Ann, his wife, a Native Protestant.
- Nov. 12. Elizth., Jane daughter of Capt. Hercules Skinner, H. C.'s Service. (49)
- Dec. 5. Caroline Frances, daughter of John Hyde, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and Mary, his wife. Born 12th Oct., 1787.
- „ 5. Sophia, daughter of Finlay Macinniss, and Primerose, his wife, Born 5th Nov., 1787. (50)
- „ 9. Eliza, daughter of Geo. Mence, Esq., Major, H. C.'s Service, and Eliza, his wife, lately deceased. Born 16th Sept., 1787. (50A)
- „ 17. Richd., son of Capt. Richd. Humfray, Engineer, and Margaret, his wife.
- „ 22. Willm., son of Mr. Rowland Scott, Inhabt.
- „ 22. John, son of John Madec. Aged about 4 years.
- „ 24. Robt. Lindsay, son of Hon. David Anstruther, Lieut. Hon. Co.'s Service, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 29. Louisa Mary, daughter of Mr. John Addison, Sr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s Service, and Lucy, his wife. (51)
- „ 30. Mary Ann, daughter of Willm. Lowder, and Alice, his wife.
- „ 30. Charlotte, daughter of Cornelius Cooper, and Albertine, his wife.
- „ 30. Mary, daughter of Issac Gollidge by Anna Baptista de Rozonera. (52)
- „ 31. Wilhelmina and Sophia, daughters of Lt.-Col. Anthony Polier.
A copy of the Register of Baptisms, etc., for 1787 was sent home by the *Thetis* Indiaman, 15th Jan., 1788. (53)
T. B[LANSHARD].

1788.

- Jan. 1. Willm., son of Mr. Wm. Ledlie, an Atty.-at-Law, and Ann, his wife. (45)
- „ 10. James Webber, son of Major Wm. Kairnes, H. M.'s Service, and Jane, his wife.
- „ 12. Montague Saml., son of Mr. Robt. Saml. Perreau, and Mary, his wife. Born 25th Nov., 1787. (55)
- „ 16. John, son of Mr. Geo. Gordon, Printer, and Anna his wife. (55A)
- „ 17. John Stratford, son of Mr. John Williams, Surgn., H. C.'s Service, and Martha Louisa, his wife. Born 27th July, 1787.
- „ 18. James, son of Mr. Alexr. Davidson, Mercht. (56)
- „ 20. John Mann, son of John Bawben, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 22. John Edwd., son of John Edmondson, Esq., Lieut.-Col. H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (57).
- „ 22. Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Chas. Rice, and Elizth. his wife. Born 30th Oct., 1787.
- „ 25. Mary, daughter of Lieut. Theobald Purcell, and Rachel, his wife.
- „ 26. Charlotte Thompson. Born 12th Oct., 1784.
- „ 26. Ann Thompson. Born 13th Dec., 1786.
- „ 27. Helena, Born 5th Apl., 1778. } children of Major Isaac
David, Born 7th Aug., 1780. } Burraud of the Artillery.
Susanna, Born 12th Nov., 1783. } (58)
- Feb. 6. Stephen Barrington, A Native aged about 9 years, sent into the Charity School.
- „ 8. Champaign Addison, son of Mr. Edwd. Hardwick, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 10. Barbara, daughter of John Martin, and Martha, his wife. (59)
- „ 13. Charlotte, daughter of Chas. Russell Deare, Esq., Major of Artillery, and Catherine, his wife. Born 27th Dec., 1787. (60)
- „ 18. Arthur, son of John Macdonald, and Barbara, his wife. Born 10th Jan., 1788.
- „ 20. Willm. Fleming, son of Mr. Wm. Dick, Asst. Surgn, H. C.'s Service, and Charlotte, his wife. (61)
- „ 20. Eliza Georgina, daughter of Mark Wood, Esq., Major of Engrs., and Rachel, his wife. Born 15th Nov., 1787. (62)
- „ 20. Margt. Susanna, daughter of Major Patrick Hay, of the Infy., and Sarah, his wife. Aged 7 months.

- Feb. 23. John, son of John Evelyn, a Member of the Board of Revenue, and Ann, his wife. Sponsors: Wm. Cowper and W. Burke, Esqrs., and Mrs. Elizth. Shee. (63)
- Mar. 9. Ann and Charlotte, daughters of Mr. Wm. Bowling, Factor on the Bombay Establishment. Anne born 6th Aug., 1779. Charlotte born 31st Aug., 1781.
- „ 9. Elizth., daughter of Willm. White, and Christina, his wife.
- „ 10. Ellen Margt., daughter of Lieut. Thos. Whinyates, Hon. Co.'s Service, and Catherine, his wife.
- „ 17. Catherine, son [sic] of Chas. Griese, Serjt., 3rd Battn., Infy.
- „ 17. Susanna, Native servant of Chas. Griese, Serjt. of Arty.
- „ 30. James, son of Peter Hodroyd, a Caffre Christian.
- „ 30. Elizth., daughter of David Phillips, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 30. Jas. White, A Native, aged 15 years.
- Apr. 3. Alexr, son of John Mackenzie, Esq., a Member of the Bd. of Reve., and Elizth., his wife. (64)
- „ 5. Willm. Cooper, son of Christopher Keating, Esq., Sr. Mercht.
- „ 18. Eliza Jane, daughter of Capt. Howe. Aged 4 years.
- „ 20. Robt., son of John Hollow, and Theodosia, his wife. (65)
- „ 22. Charlotte, daughter of Simon Rodrigues, and Elizth., his wife. Born 21st Feb.
- „ 26. Eleanor Wale, daughter of John Byrn, and Margt., his wife. Born 21st March.
- May 4. Bridget Mary, daughter of Mr. Geo. Hudson, and Anastasia Henrietta, his wife. (66)
- „ 5. Richd. Blechynden, son of Mr. Richd. Brittridge, Silver-smith, and Mary, his wife. Born 18th Feb., 1788. (67)
- „ 7. George, son of Thos. Morgan, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 11. George, son of John Shore, Esq. Born 1st July, 1785.
- „ 13. Ann Maria, daughter of Mr. John Brown, Commander of the *Fanny Snow*, and Ann Maria, his wife. Born 12th Feb., 1788.
- May 26. Elizth, daughter of Mr. Willm. Ditchett, Taylor.
- „ 29. Henry Corns. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Martin, Asst. Surgn.
- June 1. Ann, daughter of Edwd. Candler, Carpenter, and Elizth., his wife.
- „ 9. Charity Eliza, daughter of Willm. Chambers, Esq., Sr. Mercht., Madras Estabt., and Charity, his wife. (68)

- June 15. Robt. son of Robt. Smith, Inhabt.
 „ 26. Cornwallis, son of Mr. Jas. Campbell, Asst. Surgn., and Jessy, his wife. Born 14th Jan., 1788.
- July 21. Mary, daughter of Lieut. St. Geo. Ashe. Born 11th Dec., 1785. (69)
 „ 21. Harriet, daughter of Lieut. St. Geo. Ashe. Born 8th Nov., 1787. (69A)
 „ 26. George Edwd., son of Mr. Thos. Gowan, Secy. to the General Bank of India, and Elizth., his wife. (70)
- Aug. 3. Edwd., son of John Harcourt, Serjt. of Arty., and Ann, his wife.
 „ 12. Henry, son of Capt. Henry Haldane, A. D. C. to Lord Cornwallis. (71)
 „ 24. Mary Karowpit, a Native Adult.
 „ 25. Lydia, daughter of Mr. Henry Lodge, Sr. Mercht.. (72)
 „ 31. Chas. Willm., son of Mr. Willm. Dent, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Louisa, his wife. (73)
- Sep. 1. Richd. Haswell, son of Lieut. John Toppin of the Arty., and Elizth., his wife. (74)
 „ 7. Sophia, daughter of Lieut. Richd. Forbes. Aged 7 years. (75)
 „ 7. Chas., son of Mr. John Herbert Harrington, Jr. Mercht. (76)
 „ 21. Saml., son of Saml. Allen, Serjt.-Major of the Govr.-Genl.'s Guard, and Phillis., his wife.
 „ 21. Jane, daughter of John Martin, Inhabt., and Elizth., his wife.
 „ 21. Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Richd. Johnson, Sr. Mercht. Born Jan. 8, 1788. Entered by Rev. John Owen, Sept. 1, 1799.
 „ 28. Thos., son of John Bowers, Inhabt., and Elizth., his wife. (77)
 „ 28. Willm., son of Mr. Jas. Gee, Shopkeeper.
- Oct. 3. Jane Hatch, daughter of Mr. Geo. Hatch, Sr. Mercht. (78)
 „ 6. Sarah, daughter of the late (blank) Brown, deceased.
 „ 17. Catherine, daughter of Mr. Thos. Raban, Atty.-at-Law, and Catherine, his wife.
- Nov. 8. Mr. Thos. Kinsey. Aged about 23 years.
 „ 9. Barbara Isabelle, daughter of Capt. Wm. Kirkpatrick, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Maria, his wife. Aged five months.
 „ 10. Sarah, daughter of Willm. Horrick, Mariner. Aged nine months.
 „ 13. James, son of Mr. John Edwd. Harrington, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Mary Anne, his wife. Born 30th Sept. last. (79)

- Nov. 16. Anne, daughter of Sir Robt. Chambers, Kt., Actg. Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Frances, his wife. Born 16th Oct. last. Sponsors: The Hon. Mr. Justice Hyde in person, and Thos. King, Esq., Mrs. Collins (wife of Thos. Collins, Esq.), and Mrs. Charlotte Smoult, by their proxies John Wilton, Esq., Mrs. Maria Theresa Watson, and Mrs. Dick. (80)
- „ 18. Jas. Nesbitt, son of Wm. Jackson, Esq., Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife. Born 16th Aug. last.
- „ 22. Nathl. son of Lieut. Leonard. Born 23rd Dec., 1784.
- „ 22. Bridget, daughter of Lieut. Nathl. Leonard. Born 1st Nov., 1786.
- „ 22. Elizth, daughter of Lieut. Alexr. Balfour, decd. Aged 5 years.
- „ 27. Alexr. Griffith, son of Lieut. Alexr. Balfour, decd.
- „ 27. John Nesbitt, son of Mr. John White, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Matilda, his wife (Born 18th Aug. last). (81)
- „ 27. Matilda, daughter of Geo. Nesbitt Thompson, Esq. (Born 5th Jan. last). (82)
- „ 30. Alexr., son of Mr. Hume Jackson, Taylor, and Anne, his wife.
- „ 30. George, son of John Moffatt. (83)
- Dec. 12. George, son of Thos. Law, Esq. Aged 4 years.
- „ 12. Edmund, son of Thos. Law, Esq. Aged 3 years.
- „ 14. Phoebe, daughter of Mr. John Hall, Sr. Mercht., and Joan, his wife.
- „ 16. Maria Eliza, daughter of John Bristow, Esq., and Amelia, his wife. (Born 15th May). (84)
- „ 17. William, son of John Jane (?) and Anne, his wife. Born 13th Nov.
- „ 25. Willm. Richd., son of James Ellis, Esq., Physician-General. Born 20th Jan. last.
- „ 26. Lucy, daughter of Mr. Richd. Roche, Sr. Mercht. Aged 6 years. (85)
- „ 31. Chas. Edwd., son of Capt. Thos. Wm. Clayton, H. C.'s Mjly. Service, and Emma Maria, his wife. (86)

T. Blanshard, Sr. Chapln.



THE ROHILLA CENOTAPH
IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD, CALCUTTA.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

(1) *Major Thomas Bolton*—married Sarah Rowe on December 23, 1784. Killed in the action against the Rohillas at Dalmow under the command of Sir Robert Abercromby, on October 26, 1794. His name will be found among those inscribed on the Rohilla cenotaph in St. John's Church, Calcutta. A similar inscription has been placed on a large red sandstone obelisk which has been erected on the right hand side of the road from Rampore to Bareilly.

(2) *J. H. Guinaud*.—In the baptismal entry of his daughter, Perretty, on November 8, 1784, his wife's Christian name is given as Charlotte: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 196, 202.

(3) *William Phillips Williams*, schoolmaster, died on August 12, 1786.

(4) *Thomas Potenger*—Assistant at Cossimbazar, 1772: Head Assistant to Henry Cottrell and Francis Law, Commercial Chiefs at Dacca, 1780-1785: permitted to proceed to Europe in the *Manship* Indiaman, December 1786.

(5) *Joshua Williams*—Collector of Government Customs at Dacca: obtains a subsistence allowance upon the abolition of his appointment, September 1788, and resigns the service in the December following. Receives a passage to England on the *Kent* Indiaman.

(6) *George Gowan*—married Mary Parry on July 17, 1789.

(7) *Ambrose Kipling* (or Kepling)—Died in Calcutta, September 22, 1801, aged 60. "One of the oldest Commanders out of this port".

(8) *Ann Creighton*—died in Calcutta in 1803, aged 43. Her husband's sister, also Ann Creighton, married William Ledlie as his first wife at St. John's Church on May 21, 1785, and died in Calcutta on December 25, 1794: See note (14).

Edward Creighton—cf. Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* for Saturday February 4, 1780: "Edward Creighton late Cook to the Hon'ble Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras, and who served his apprenticeship at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, and John Nicolls, late Steward to the Hon'ble Sir Elijah Impey, humbly beg leave to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Calcutta that they jointly propose carrying on the Tavern business, and have taken the House which was Captain Hicks's on the south-east side of the China Bazar." A further advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 14, 1784, announces that "Mr. Creighton has reopened the Harmonic Tavern," which was in Lall Bazar, on the site of the present Police Office. The public are invited to attend the "assemblies". "Two country dances and a cotillon are to be continued alternately during the evening"—but "no hookahs" are to be "admitted upstairs". Creighton had formidable rivals in "Messrs. Martin and Lacey, Masters of the London Tavern",

which was in Vansittart Row, on the south side of Tank Square. In their advertisement on October 7, 1784, they "most humbly present their respects to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement and take the liberty of informing them that they have opened a subscription for an assembly, once a fortnight, during the cold weather, to begin on Tuesday, the 2nd November next, and to continue every 2nd Tuesday, provided there shall be 150 subscribers". They add a solemn declaration that they did not know that the Harmonic Tavern would again be opened as a Tavern, "when they contracted with a builder about two months ago to erect a large and commodious Assembly Room, ninety-six feet long and thirty-six feet broad".

(9) *Eldred Addison*—writer, 1775, and commissary of musters and supplies to the third brigade.

(10) *Lt.-Col. Allen Macpherson*—Adjutant of the 1st Brigade 1765: Captain 1768: Major 1781: Lieut.-Colonel 1783: Quarter-master General: Resigned the service in March 1791. Married Eliza Fraser at Berhampore in 1781 (1). A kinsman of Sir John Macpherson, the "Gentle Giant" of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, who officiated as Governor-General from February 1785 to September, 1786.

Portraits of Allen Macpherson, his wife, and his brother John Macpherson (who was in India between 1770 and 1787) were painted by John Thomas Seton and are in the possession of his great grandson Mr. W. C. Macpherson, C.S.I. See article by Sir William Foster in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 1.

(11) *George Augustus Chicheley Plowden*.—Writer on the Bengal Establishment, 1802: arrived in India, April 2, 1804: died, November 16, 1804.

Richard Chicheley Plowden, the father, married Elizabeth Sophia Prosser in 1777. He was appointed to be a member of the Committee of Accounts at Calcutta in 1784 and left India in 1790. Director of the Company from 1803 to 1829. The title of Begum was conferred upon his wife by Shah Alam in 1788: and the *sanad* is still preserved in the family.

(12) *Robert Henry Dick*.—Afterwards Major-General Sir Robert Dick. Served in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo: K.C.H., 1832: Major-General, 1837: K.C.B., 1838: Commanded a Division in Madras, 1838 and acted as Commander-in-Chief, 1841-42: killed at Sobraon, February 10, 1846, by one of the last shots fired. There is a tablet to his memory in St. George's Cathedral, Madras. His portrait is to be seen (end figure on the spectator's left) in a picture representing "The Installation on the Musnud of H. H. the Nabob of the Carnatic, 1842", which hangs in Government House, Madras. It was painted by F. C. Lewis (junior) at Madras in 1842, and was purchased

(1) Mrs. Macpherson's sister Mary married on November 4, 1787, Captain Hiram Cox, Commander of the Ship *Clive*, after whom Cox's Bazar is named and who died on August 2, 1799, aged 39, at Chittagong, "of a fever with which he was attacked at Rummo, while on a deputation from Government to settle some affairs with the Burmans in the district." He was sent on a mission to the Court of Ava and his *Journal of a Residence in the Burman Empire* was brought out in 1821 by his son, Harry C. M. Cox.

in 1859 at the dispersal of the Chepauk Palace collection. An engraving by F. C. Lewis (senior) and C. G. Lewis is to be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall and also in Room 108 at the India Office (Foster's catalogue). Lord Elphinstone was Governor of Fort Saint George at the time. Sir Robert Dick's younger brother, William Fleming Dick, was in the Bengal Civil Service: see note (61).

The father William Dick, is, no doubt, the subject of the following curious entry in the Farington Diary for February 13, 1809 ("Morning Post", April 6, 1923):

Dance (R. A.).....spoke of Sir G. Beaumont's improved health, attributed to taking calomel and to daily washing himself, *body and limbs*, with cold water: not immersing Himself in cold water, but washing each part successively.—My brother [Richard Atherton Farington, a retired "Company's ship" Captain] said that Dr. Dick, who recommended this mode of proceeding, was Surgeon's Mate on board [an] East Indiaman: that He afterwards settled in Bengal, where he was much appreciated as a Physician.

Dick went out to India in 1781 and resigned the service in Europe on December 17, 1803, when he must have set up in practice in London, for he is mentioned by Farington in a later entry of March 30, 1809, as being in medical attendance on Sir George Beaumont, a well-known art patron of the day. The Registers of St. John's Church record the marriage on September 8, 1783, of Mr. William Dick, Assistant Surgeon, to Charlotte McClaran, Spinster. Mr. J. J. Cotton in his List of Monumental Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency (s. v. Sir Robert Henry Dick) relates a story that, when Henry Dundas and Edmund Burke were staying at Dunkeld with the Duke of Atholl, they accidentally met, when out walking, a farmer's daughter who gave them refreshments and, on learning who they were, begged them to help a young doctor, William Dick, to whom she was betrothed but who was too poor to marry. Dundas gave the doctor an appointment as Assistant Surgeon in the Company's service, whereupon he went to India and made a large fortune with which he purchased the estate of Tullymet in Perthshire on his retirement.

(13) *Edward Durham Hall*—The mother was a sister of Hercules Durham, the advocate (admitted January 7, 1775: died October 19, 1776) who represented the Crown at the trial of Nuncomar: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212.

(14) *William Ledlie*.—Arrived in India, 1783: and admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court on November 23, 1793. Married (1) on May 21, 1785, Ann Creighton who died on December 25, 1794; (2) on February 14, 1797, Margaret MacInness. Died at Serampore on January 2, 1804. The child Thomas died on Sept. 7, 1787.

(15) *Ross Jennings*: "merchant and indigo manufacturer, zillah Midnapore" (Calcutta Directory for 1804).

(16) *Alexander Colvin*.—Born. April 11, 1756, died December 15, 1818. Married Maria Margaret Paterson in Calcutta on February 28, 1786. A "free merchant": founder of the house of Colvin Ainslie and Cowie. One of the jurors who tried the indictment against James Augustus Hicky for a libel on Mr. Hastings, Governor-General, published in the *Bengal Gazette*, No. IX of March 24, 1781. A verdict of not guilty was returned on June 27, 1781. Died at Calcutta on December 15, 1818, at the age of 62. There is a monument to his memory in St. John's Church. His tomb is in South Park Street Cemetery. Uncle of John Russell Colvin, Lieutenant-General of the N.-W. Provinces, 1853-57.

Alexander John Colvin, whose baptism forms the subject of the entry, also served in the Bengal Civil Service: writer, 1805, Judge of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Allahabad, 1831.

(17) *Christopher Green*.—Cadet, Bengal Artillery, 1770: Colonel commanding the Artillery, 1800.

(18) *Samuel Swinhoe*.—infantry cadet on the Bengal Establishment 1805: arrived in the *Huddart* (Captain William Eastfield) on March 17, 1805: Lieutenant doing duty with the 27th Bengal Infantry, March 27, 1805: Lieutenant-Colonel, 1830. He was the brother-in-law of Major-General Sir William Nott (died 1845) who married his sister Letitia on October 7, 1805: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 166. Richard Wellesley Barlow, of the Bengal Civil Service and sixth son of Sir George Hilary Barlow, Bart, married Nott's second daughter Maria on March 2, 1835 (2), and Charles Augustus Nott was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on March 1 of the same year. Two infant children, Henry Swinhoe Nott (1810-1812) and John Nott (1812) are buried in the South Park Street cemetery.

(19) *Pellegrine Treves*.—Writer, October 13, 1784. When Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General in 1786, he was much pestered by men of high rank in England to perpetrate "some infamous and unjustifiable job". On one occasion the Prince of Wales asked that "a black named Alii cawn" (Ali Ibrahim Khan) who was chief criminal judge of Benares, might be displaced "to make room for a youth named Pellegrine Treves, son of a notorious London moneylender" (3). Treves was Resident at Benares from 1790 to 1794, and was appointed Judge of the Provincial Court of appeal at the place, in 1795. In 1807 he obtained the post of Collector of

(2) Their eldest son, who was also named Richard Wellesley Barlow, was in the Madras Civil Service from 1855 to 1887. He succeeded his cousin as fourth baronet in 1889 and died in 1904.

(3) Cf. entry in *Farington Diary* for October 14, 1802:

The Prince [of Wales] is much abt. riding and walking (at Brighton).....His established companies are Admiral Payne, Treves the Jew, [Sir John] Day who was formerly in India [as Advocate-General at Calcutta] and Cole Coningham. When the Prince is invited to dine out at Brighton it is usual to ask these persons also.

the 24 Pergunnahs, and was in Calcutta in 1812, as witness the following entry in Lady Nugent's Journal:

May 19th (1812): Dined with Mr. Treves, whose house is in the old fort, and near the Black Hole. The entertainment was handsome and the house uncommonly well lit up, still there was an air of gloom in my mind's eye, for I thought I saw all the suffering wretches who had been shut up there formerly, and there was something shocking to the feelings in contrast with the present scene.

He subsequently became Postmaster General and was holding that office in 1820. In 1823 he was still in the service but "out of employ". Married on September 7, 1785, Hetty Stokes and died at Lucknow on August 23, 1825. An engraving may be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall of a portrait of Saadat Aly Khan, Nawab Vizier of Oudh (1798-1814) "now in the possession of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales and painted at Lucknow for P. Treves, Junior, Esqre, by George Place" (who died at Lucknow on August 11, 1805.)

(20) *Maria Bathurst*—died in Calcutta in 1803. Her grave is in the North Part Street cemetery.

Robert Bathurst, the father, was nominated to a writership in 1772. On August 17, 1787, he was appointed to succeed G. F. Grand as Collector of Tirhoot and Hajipore. Military Paymaster 1801; Collector of Customs at Furruckabad, 1804. Married Maria Leister at Patna on January 24, 1784, when Grand signed the register (4). "Retired to England with a considerable fortune derived from his indigo manufactories" (Grand, Narrative, 1911 reprint, p. 122). But he appears to have returned, for one of the tablets erected on the gateway of the South Park Street cemetery records the death of Robert Bathurst, Collector of Customs at Mirzapore, on November 3, 1821, at the age of 67. The Rev. B. G. Wilkinson, of Pimperne Rectory, Blandford, is stated by Dr. G. C. Williamson to possess a portrait, painted by Zoffany about 1800, of Mrs. Robert Bathurst and an infant daughter, Catherine, who subsequently married a Mr. J. E. Wilkinson. An ayah with a tambourine stands behind the sofa on which Mrs. Bathurst is seated.

(21) *Robert Samuel Perreau*—arrived in Calcutta from Fort Saint George in 1780 and married Mary Cooper on January 14, 1786. Paymaster of Colonel Popham's detachment in 1781, when he was present at the taking of Bijaighur, the "Bidzeegur" of Daniell's drawing. He was for a

(4) Grand acted as chaplain on July 10, 1789, when he married Crichton Frazer, assistant surgeon in the Company's service at Patna, to Charlotte Blanshard, the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Blanshard. "There being no clergyman at hand", the duty devolved upon him as judge and magistrate. Betty Blanshard, an elder sister, was married at Cawnpore on March 13, 1781, to Major Alexander Hardy. Her father was then Chaplain to the second Brigade, and performed the ceremony.

time Agent at Calcutta for Fort Marlborough and later on founded the firm of Perreau and Palling. On March 7, 1792, he witnessed the marriage of John Palling (who came out in the *Duke of Kingston* Indiaman in 1780) and Anna Maria Graveley, (who died on April 25, 1794, at the age of nineteen). Perreau was one of the old Westminsters who joined with Warren Hastings in presenting in 1777 a silver cup to Westminster School for the use of the King's scholars. The subscribers numbered twenty-two and their names are engraved on the cup. Among the others were Sir Elijah Impey and William Markham, son of the Archbishop of York, who was Resident at Benares at the time of the rebellion of Cheyt Singh (5). Perreau was also present at the dinner given by William Hickey to old Westminsters at his house in 1784 (Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 245). Hastings, who annually gave a dinner of the kind, did not attend, "as etiquette did not allow": but the company, which numbered forty-six, included William Burke, Peter Touchet, Edward Hay (the Chief Secretary to Government) and "the Reverend Mr. Owen, a pedantic Methodistical parson, then recently arrived from England as chaplain": as to whom see note (34). They sent a gold cup to Dr. Vincent the headmaster who informed them in return that the Latin inscription contained a false concord. Perreau died at Patna on March 22, 1811, aged 50 years.

(21A) *William Kirkpatrick*—married Maria Pawson on September 26, 1782: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 214.

(22) *The Berrington* (755 tons, Capt. Thomas Ley) arrived in the Downs on August 11, 1787 and the *Earl of Oxford* (758 tons, Capt. John White, Junr) on September 18, 1787.

(23) *Henry Vansittart*—died in Calcutta on October 7, 1786. For an account of the Vansittart family, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 213.

Catherine Vansittart—was born on December 8, 1786. Her godfather at her baptism was George Powney, and her godmothers, Mrs. Casamaijor wife of James Henry Casamaijor of the Madras Civil Service, and Mrs. Sarah Vansittart.

(24) *Benjamin Grindall*—married Charlotte Powney on September 7, 1785. Judge of the Dewany Adawlut at Ghazipore, 1782. Controller of Salt, 1789 to 1794: Died at Patna, July 1797. His sister-in-law, Catherine

(5) The most noteworthy memorial of Hastings at the School is a silver cup, or poculum, of large size and great weight, called the "Warren Hastings Cup," which was presented in 1777, for the use of the King's Scholars of St. Peter's College, by Hastings and other "old boys" then residing in India, in token of their undiminished attachment for their School. On one side of the cup the arms of the School (without the motto, "Dat Deus incrementum") are engraved, and the other side bears the following inscription: "Alumnis Regii Scholae Westinon: ipsi plerique Alumni, D.D.D.," beneath which are the names: Warren Hastings, Elijah Impey, Geo. Templer, Edw. Hay, Joh. Wombwell, Gul. Markham, Joh. White, Cl. Benezet, Pet. Touchet, Rob. Holt, Joh. Scawen, Joh. Williams, Alex. Macleod, R. S. Perreau, Edw. Bengough, G. C. Meyer, Car. Cooper, Geo. Arbuthnot, F. Pierard, Car. Mouatt, Gul. Franklin, and Gual. Hawkes."—Lawson: "The Private Life of Warren Hastings."

Powney, married firstly, Henry Vansittart, and, secondly George Nesbitt Thompson, the Secretary of Warren Hastings. See notes (23) and (82). Mary Grindall married William Arnold on June 10, 1802. Rivers Grindall (writer 1801) died at the Cape of Good Hope on November 13, 1831.

(25) *Richard Humfrey*, or *Humfrays*—of the Bengal Engineers (cadet 1778) married Margaret Kiernan on February 16, 1786. His rank as Captain dated from May 31 of that year. In 1801 he was promoted to be Lieutenant Colonel and stationed at Chunar.

(25A) *William Cairnes*—Cf. Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. III, p. 265): "Major Cairnes was an Irishman, very well connected, and inherited a fortune of about £600 a year. When just turned twenty-one years of age, he married a young countrywoman, the daughter of a gentleman who resided in the neighbourhood." His house in 1785 was "about three miles from Calcutta." They left for Madras in 1789. Cairnes was given a company in one of the King's Regiments by (the second) Lord Clive who was then Governor, but he died about ten months after his arrival at Fort Saint George.

(26) *David Anstruther*—Commanding Officer of the Nawab Nazim's bodyguard at Moorshedabad. He was one of the party invited by Robert Pott to dinner at Afzulbaug to meet William Hickey in April or May, 1785 (*Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 278). Sketch No. 23 in "Twenty-four views of Hindoostan drawn by W. Orme from the original pictures by Mr. [Thomas] Daniell and Colonel [Francis Swain] Ward," published in London in January 1805, represents "Felicity Hall, late the Residence of the Hon'ble David Anstruther, near Moorshedabad, Bengal." It is one of the ten to which the name of Thomas Daniell is appended. The house, Hickey tells us, was about two miles from Afzulbaug. See also "Hartly House", p. 82: "The Captain or Commanding Officer of the Nabob's guards [sc. Nawab Nazim Mobaruck-ud-Dowlah, son of Meer Jaffir] which consists of a whole battalion of black troops, is an Englishman, a younger brother of an ennobled family and who paid £80,000 (acquired in this world of wealth) for the appointment". Married Mary Donaldson, who was, according to William Hickey (*Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 320), "the daughter of a needy tradesman in a country village of Scotland", but see the announcement in James Augustus Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*: February 26, 1780: "Married last Sunday at Cossimbazar the Hon'ble David Anstruther, Lieutenant of the Yellow, to Miss Donaldson of that place, a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments." One of the tombs in the old Residency cemetery at Cossimbazar bears the name of Alexander D'Oily Anstruther, son of David and Mary Anstruther, died March 8, 1785, aged 2 years and 16 days. The Annual Register records the death on August 17, 1778, of "the Hon'ble Lieutenant Francis Anstruther at Madras."

(27) *Henry Griffiths*—Resigned the office of Salt Agent for the Twenty-four Pergunnahs in January 1781, after seventeen years' service, and proceeded to England on board the *Berrington* with his two children.

(28) *George Aubrey*, or *Awbery*—married Ann Botham at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on March 16, 1786. Ensign on the Madras Establishment, November 9, 1773: Captain-Lieutenant, November 21, 1783. Struck off the list on February 25, 1789, upon joining the King's service.

(29) *Francis Gladwin*—married Sarah Alexander on July 11, 1782. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 206.

(30) *Hon. Robert Lindsay*—Second son of the fifth Earl of Balcarres: obtained a nomination as writer through Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, and landed in Calcutta in September, 1772. After spending some years at Dacca, he succeeded William Holland as Collector of Sylhet in 1777: See *Lives of the Lindsay* and Sir William Hunter's *Thackerays in India*. "Thrown on his own resources, he assumed by turns the character of soldier, magistrate, political agent, elephant catcher, tiger-hunter, ship-builder, lime-manufacturer, physician and surgeon." He left India in 1787, having purchased the barony of Leuchar in Fife: and enjoyed for fifty years in England the large fortune he had amassed. In 1788, he married the daughter of Sir Alexander Dick, having, as he said, "marked her for his own" before he went to India. Two of his grandsons were Sir Coutts Lindsay (of the Grosvenor Gallery) and Lord Wantage, V. C. He owned a house in Calcutta in what is now Lindsay Street.

(31) *Christopher Keating*—writer, 1769; Collector of Beerbhoom, 1793 (see Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*): Senior Judge of the Court of Appeal at Patna, 1795.

Polly Keating—the child baptized, married Lieut.-Col. Samuel Bradshaw of the 17th B. N. I. at Patna on February 19, 1801, and died at that place on October 14, 1806.

(32) *Fairfax Moresby*—(the elder) became Lieut.-Col. of the Stafford Militia and commander of the Lichfield volunteers on his return to England. There is a reference in Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. III, pp. 225, 226) to a "scene" between him and Mr. Justice Hyde, over an application for bail. Married on October 15, 1784, Mary Rotten. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 221.

Fairfax Moresby—(the younger) entered the Royal Navy, and became Admiral of the Fleet and G. C. B. His eldest son, Commander Fairfax Moresby, was lost at sea in Bass's Straits, off the coast of Tasmania, when in command of the *Sappho* in 1858. The second son was Admiral John Moresby, after whom Port Moresby, the capital of New Guinea, is named: See his book "Two Admirals" (Murray, 1909).

(33) *William Nathan Wrighte Hewett*—Register of the Dewanny Adawlut at Midnapore, 1785; Salt Agent at Hijili, 1786-1796: Judge and Magistrate of Hijili, 1787-1794. Married Martha Tuting on September 16, 1785. Grandfather of Admiral Sir William Nathan Wrighte Hewett: whose father William Wrighte Hewett (born December 5, 1795) became an Assistant Surgeon on the Bengal establishment in 1821, taking the degree

of M. D. at Aberdeen University in the same year, and acted as Medical Officer to the Governor-General's Bodyguard from January 1829 to April 1830, when he retired and was appointed physician to King William the Fourth.

(34) *John Owen*—was transferred from the garrison chaplaincy to be junior Chaplain at St. John's Church on the departure of William Johnson in 1788. Returned to Europe in 1794.

(35) *Capt. Robert Frith*.—See "Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife" (p. 265). Accompanied Hastings to Benares in 1784 and was left behind at Lucknow in command of a portion of the Nawab Vizier's forces. In 1790 he and his regiment—"a small corps of horse, the finest ever seen in the British Service"—escorted Lord Cornwallis to Madras for the second campaign against Tippoo. Charges were brought against him that his men refused to face the enemy, but he demanded an enquiry and was justified by a court strongly hostile to him. In 1795 he took the lead, with Major Popham, in the agitation of the Bengal European officers for redress of their grievances: and probably suffered for this breach of discipline, since in 1807 his son writes from Agra to say that he has died in very poor circumstances.

(36) *Robert Grant*—a brother of Charles Grant: writer 1778: Judge at Futtighur in August 1803 at the time of Lord Valentia's visit (*Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 183, 191); Collector of Customs at Cawnpore 1804: died at Mussoorie on April 21, 1830. Married Elizabeth Farquharson at St. John's Church on August 3, 1787. Her sister Mary (died in Calcutta on September 3, 1818) was married on June 13, 1796, to John Fendall, senior merchant and afterwards Member of Council at Fort William from May 20, 1820, until his death in Calcutta on November 10, 1825: See note (82).

(37) *George Dandridge*—Agent for despatching the *Manship* and *Triton* Indiamen, 1788. Resigned the service from the Cape of Good Hope in 1793 and proceeded to Europe. Returned to the Presidency in 1797, and was appointed Collector of Tippera in 1800. Obtained a passage to Europe on the *Castle Eden* with his family in December 1800.

(38) *Chinsurah*—was a Dutch Settlement until 1815, when it was exchanged for Bencoolen and Fort Marlboro' on the island of Sumatra.

(39) *Joseph Garnault*.—The *Ganges* (758 tons) sailed from Portsmouth on February 1, 1786, for "the Coast and the Bay" and arrived in the Downs on her return on July 26, 1787. But Captain James Williamson was then in command, and Joseph Garnault was First Officer. On the next voyage which was to China (March 29, 1789 to April 26, 1790) Garnault was in command. He was again in command on a voyage to the Coast and China (January 17, 1792 to March 10, 1793) and again to China (May 2, 1794 to July 25, 1795). A third voyage was made to St. Helena, Bencoolen and China (June 5, 1797 to February 10, 1799), after which the command passed into the hands of Capt. Alexander Gray.

(39A) *William Armstrong*—A Company's servant of this name was Collector of Dacca in 1794 and of Midnapore in 1797.

(40) *William Henry Chicheley Plowden*.—Writer on the China Establishment at Canton, 1804: President of the Select Committee, 1828 to 1830: Director of the East India Company from 1841 to 1853. M. P. for Newport (Isle of Wight) from 1847 to 1852. Died in March, 1880, at the age of 93. He was present as a boy in Westminster Hall at the trial of Warren Hastings and had an interview with Napoleon at St. Helena in 1816.

(41) *John Burgh*—married Elizabeth Mary Cumberlege on May 2, 1783 at 'Affsulbaug, near Moorshedabad'. The ceremony was performed by Rev. William Lewis, "Chaplain of Burrampore" in the presence of Sir John D'Oyly (the sixth baronet).

(41A) *Samuel Farmer*—married Susanna Robinanna Brown on March 3, 1789.

(42) *Thomas Raban*—Attorney of the Supreme Court and Attorney for Paupers. Came out in the *Ganges* Indiaman in 1779.

Ralph Uvedale—after whom the child was named was Clerk of the Crown and Prothonotary: and served the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in 1796. Enrolled as an advocate on January 13, 1782, although not a barrister. He died in Calcutta on May 18, 1813, at the age of 66.

(43) *James Mary Carlier*—described as a "cook" in the Calcutta Directory for 1802: was keeping "Carlier and Scornec's Tavern" in 1804. The child *John James*, died on December 14, 1788.

John Wilton—his employer, was a writer of 1776: Sheriff, 1789. Appointed Commercial Resident at Keerpoy (Khirpai near Midnapore) in 1790. Brother of Lady Chambers. Their father was Joseph Wilton, the sculptor (1722—1803) who was a foundation member of the Royal Academy and became Keeper in 1791 on the death of Agostino Carlini. It was at his house, according to Joseph Farington (Diary, March 10, 1796) that steps were taken in 1769 to petition the King to establish the Academy.

(44) *Thomas Hawkins*—cadet, 1778: major 1st regiment B.N.I., 1802.

(45) *John Dawson*—cadet 1780: Captain, 19th regiment B.N.I., 1800.

(46) *William Dent*—Salt Agent at Tumlook, 1783-1787 and 1790-1795. Married on September 1, 1786 Louisa Blunt, daughter of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart (who died at Pultah on September 29, 1802, at the age of 72: a marble monument to his memory may be seen in St. John's Church). Of her sisters, two were married on May 20, 1795, from "Lady Shore's garden house" (6): Lydia to Sir Alexander Seton, Bart. of the Civil Service (who died in 1811) and Anna Maria, to the Hon'ble Charles Andrew Bruce afterwards Governor of Prince of Wales Island (who died in 1810). Another sister, Charlotte, was married to Sir Charles Imhoff, the stepson of Warren Hastings: and a fourth, Maria Tryphena, on February

(6) A water-colour sketch drawn in 1801 by James Hunter of "Sir John Shore's Garden House at Garden Reach" has lately been added to the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It will be found in the Calcutta Room.

4, 1789 to Charles Cockerell, afterwards a baronet (she died in the year following). Zoffany painted portraits of William Dent and his brother Capt. John Dent of the Company's Military Service (who at one time commanded the Bhagalpur Militia), with an Indian orderly, a bailiff, and a labourer: and also a second group, representing Mrs. Dent and her two children Sophia Louisa, the subject of this entry, and Charles William (baptized August 31, 1788). Both pictures are now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. H. E. D. Blakiston, President of Trinity College, Oxford, who is the grandson of Sophia Louisa Dent.

(47) *Henry Ramus*—Cf. *Memoirs of William Hickey* (Vol. I, p. 283): "Mr. Henry Ramus another acquaintance of mine went out a writer the same season [1772-73: as Robert Pott.] His eldest brother George and I were contemporaries at Westminster and great cronies" (7). Brother of *Benedicta Ramus*, wife of Sir John Day, Advocate-General. Their father was *Nicholas Ramus*, head page to the King. Married on November 6, 1779, *Johanna*, daughter of *George Louis Vernet*, Governor of the Dutch Settlement of Chinsurah from 1764 to 1770. This was his second wife and the match was arranged by Mrs. Hastings. Francis notes in his Diary in November, 1779: "Sir J. Day appears to be excessively hurt at the marriage of Ramus with Miss Vernet: he says it has been hurried in a most extraordinary manner by Mrs. Hastings." Ramus was Commissary at Chinsurah, 1781; Collector of Ramghur (Chota Nagpur) 1778-1779; subsequently Member of Committee of Grain and elephant contractor: senior judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at Calcutta, 1804. One of his daughters (unnamed but described in the announcement as "a young lady of great beauty and elegant accomplishments") was married on August 23, 1801, at "the new Church" in Calcutta (St. John's) to *Archibald Cockburn*, Registrar of Hooghly (writer 1795: Collector of Behar, 1807: died at Patna, September 16, 1812). *James Money*, also of the Civil Service (writer 1790, Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar 1828: retired 1831 and died January 1833) married on May 4, 1804, *Eliza Louisa*, another daughter.

(48) *James Kilpatrick*—pensioner and keeper of the Atcheepore magazine, 1802. Married *Ann Wattan* on July 18, 1786.

(49) *Elizabeth Jane Skinner*—married at Berhampore, on January 8, 1803, to *James Oldham Oldham*, of the Company's Civil Service (writer 1797) then first assistant to the Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar (proceeded to Europe 1824, out of the service 1830):

Lt.-Col. Hercules Skinner, of the 19th B. N. I. (cadet 1771) died at Burragong on July 12, 1803.

(50) *Primrose Macinniss*—widow, married *John Baptist Levesque* on October 13, 1792. Levesque was clerk of St. John's Church and Schoolmaster of the Charity School until the arrival of *Robert Hollier* in 1785.

(7) The appointment of Robert Port to a writership on the Beugal establishment is recorded in the Court Minutes of November 27, 1772.

(50A) *Major George Mence*—married Elizabeth Donaldson at "Moradbaug, near Burrampore" on June 17, 1786: she was probably a sister of Mary Donaldson, wife of the Hon'ble David Anstruther, as to whom see note (26).

(51) *John Addison*: writer, 1776: married Lucy Clark on September 8, 1784. Represented General Clavering on the famous occasion (June 20, 1777) when the Judges decided that Hastings had not vacated the office of Governor-General. Judge of the Dewanny Adawlut of Nattor, 1782. Head assistant at the Moorshedabad Durbar during the Residency of Sir John D'Oyly, (who vacated the office in July, 1784) and continued in the same capacity under his successor Robert Pott, with whom he had a violent quarrel in March, 1788. (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 328). Clerk of the Court of Requests from 1792 to 1794. Collector of Government Customs at Hidgelee 1803 and at Moorshedabad 1807.

(52) *Isaac Golledge*—deputy assistant to the master attendant (Cudbert Thornhill): died on April 3, 1802.

(53) The *Thetis* (804 tons, Capt. Justinian Nutt) arrived in the Downs on June 25, 1788.

(54) *William Ledlie*—the younger. Cornet and ensign in the Bengal Cavalry, 1806. See note (14).

(55) *Montagu Samuel Perreau*—died in Calcutta November 25, 1788. For *Robert Samuel Perreau*, the father, see note (21).

(55A) *George Gordon*—Gordon and Hay were the printers of the *India Gazette*. John Hay died on March 8, 1787.

(56) *Alexander Davidson*—of the firm of Davidson and Wilson, kept a "Europe shop" in old Court House Street. Came out in 1784 (*Calcutta Directory* for 1802).

(57) *John Edmondson*—"Lieut. Colonel in the Hon'ble Company's Service," married Sarah Ware on March 15, 1786 and died on February 2, 1789. There is a long Latin inscription on his tomb in South Park Street cemetery. His widow married Capt. John Pearson of the Company's Service, on July 15, 1791.

(58) *Major Isaac Burraud*—Commanding the invalid artillery at Budge Budge, 1785.

(59) *John Martin*—"Victualler", married Martha Bear on September 4, 1784. One of the "Masters of the London Tavern": See note (8). His partner, John Lacey, married Avis Hicks (Mrs. Fay's milliner assistant) on March 19, 1785: she was drowned on September 9, 1786, in the wreck of the *Severn* packet "on a sand called the broken ground just below Ingellee". See Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India* (Forster's edition, 1925: p. 239). The "London Hotel" is mentioned in *Hartly House* (1908 reprint: p. 59): "I was also shown, *en passant*, a tavern called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold

mohr a head exclusive of the dessert and wines. Two very expensive articles indeed: for claret, notwithstanding its free consumption, is in private families Five Rupees (twelve shillings and six pence) a bottle."

(60) *Charlotte Deare*—died in Calcutta on April 20, 1788.

(61) *William Fleming Dick*—Writer, July 29, 1805: arrived in Bengal, September 1, 1805: became judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Allahabad, September 14, 1833: retired on annuity, February 27, 1838. Brother of Major-General Sir Robert Dick: see note (12). Married Emily Shakespear, sister of Col. Sir Richmond Shakespear (1812-1851) and daughter of John Talbot Shakespear (writer 1800, died at the Cape of Good Hope on April 12, 1825) and Emily Thackeray (died of cholera in Calcutta on September 29, 1824). For letters written by Sir Richmond Shakespear to Emily Dick in 1838-40 from Candahar, Herat, and Khiva, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VI, pp. 297-317.

Nine civilians of the name of Dick served in Bengal from 1792 to 1842: Sir Robert Keith Dick, Bart. (writer 1792, resigned in India 1813), William Fleming Dick (1805-1838), James Charters Dick (writer 1809, died at Bareilly, 1831), Abercrombie Dick (writer 1810), John Dick (writer 1817, died in Calcutta 1825), John Campbell Dick (writer 1827), Robert Kerr Dick (writer 1828), Alexander Thomas Dick (writer 1829) and Henry Lindsay Dick (writer 1831, resigned 1834).

(62) *Mark Wood*.—Born 1747: joined Bengal Engineers, 1772: Colonel, 1793: Chief Engineer in Bengal, 1790: returned to England, 1793: M.P., 1794, 1796, 1802, retiring in 1818: Baronet, 1808: died February 6, 1829: author of the map of Calcutta published by William Baillie in 1792. Farington in his *Diary* (see reference in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 30) tells us that he resided 25 years in India, and had been (1803) 10 or 11 years in England: that he had four children, two boys and two girls, and "is reckoned to have brought from India £200,000": and finally that he bought the Borough of Gatton, which contained seven voters, for £90,000. He was an extensive landholder in Calcutta, where his name is perpetuated by Wood Street.

(63) *John Evelyn*—then a senior merchant in the Company's Service, and Ann Shee, were married at Dacca on April 14, 1787, by Matthew Day, Revenue Chief of that place, in the presence of Cosby Burrowes and George Shee, brother of the bride. They were remarried in St. John's Church, Calcutta, on November 24 of the same year.

William Cowper—godfather, was member of the Supreme Council at Fort William from November 6, 1790, to February 25, 1801. Returned to England in the *Lady Burges* Indiaman with James Paull (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 70) and gave evidence before the House of Commons in connexion with Paull's abortive attempt to impeach Lord Wellesley (*ibid.* p. 91).

William Burke—a kinsman of Edmund Burke who nominated him as his deputy in India when appointed Paymaster-General of the King's Forces out of Great Britain (excluding Ireland). See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 15.

For *Mrs. Elizabeth Shee*—the godmother, and her husband George Shee, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212.

(64) *John Mackenzie*—Presidency Customs Master, 1782: fourth member of the Board of Revenue 1786: assay master 1801: military paymaster general 1803. Hastings at his impeachment gave the following particulars regarding Mackenzie:

I concurred in giving this contract (for opium) to Mr. Mackenzie in 1777: but if it could be supposed that I had been actuated in my public conduct by the motives which my accuser imputes to me, Mr. Mackenzie was the last man in Bengal whom I should have patronized. His connexion in this country and in India has invariably been hostile to me. He went originally as a cadet to Bombay in 1770, conducted as Secretary to the late General Wedderburn, upon his death he returned to England and was sent to Bengal with the rank of Factor in 1776 by the influence, as I have always understood, of Lord Loughborough. He was on the most intimate terms with my opponent Mr. Francis.

Alexander Mackenzie—Writer, 1801. Judge and Magistrate of Backergunge, 1816-1820: civil and sessions judge at Cawnpore, 1833. Died at Cawnpore, July 30, 1833.

(65) *Robert Hollow*—died in Calcutta, 1889. The father *John Hollow* was "a monthly writer" or clerk.

(66) *George Hudson*—assistant to the Accountant, Board of Revenue (Calcutta Directory, 1803).

(67) *Richard Brittridge*.—There was an engraver of the name in Calcutta at the time. A portrait of Warren Hastings attributed to Zoffany was engraved in Calcutta by R. Brittridge and published by him in 1784 (small line engraving: 8½ inches by 7½). It was sold at two gold mohurs a copy, framed and glazed. The same picture, set in an ornamental oval frame and engraved anonymously, was published by John Murray in 1786 as a frontispiece to Hastings' "Memoirs Relative to the State of India."

A Richard Brittridge was an indigo manufacturer at Benares in 1802.

Richard Blechynden—after whom the child was named, was a civil architect and surveyor in Calcutta and came out in 1781. (See *Calcutta Past and Present*, 1905, by Kathleen Blechynden). Succeeded Edward Tiretta as Registrar of Deeds (8).

(8) James Blechynden married Sarah Thackeray "the only daughter of Richmond Thackeray," who died on May 25, 1841, and is buried in the North Park Street Cemetery in a tomb next to her father's. She was born in 1804 and baptized in 1815, ten days after her father's death. Richmond Thackeray married Anne Becher at St. John's Church on October 13, 1810: and died at Alipore on Sept. 13, 1815. The novelist was born on July 18, 1811.

(68) *William Chambers*.—Writer on the Madras Establishment, 1765: Senior Merchant, 1776. Transferred to Bengal, 1780. Prothonotary and Persian Interpreter to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, 1790. Married Charity Fraser, the sister-in-law of Charles Grant. Died in Calcutta on August 22, 1793, and was buried in South Park Street Cemetery. He was a brother of Sir Robert Chambers and came out with him on the *Dutton* (676 tons) in 1774 to act as interpreter to the Court, "being a specialist in oriental languages". Was also of a scientific turn of mind, and designed several improvements in the Old Mission Church, of which the circular chancel remains.

(69) *St. George Ashe*—Lieutenant, November 3, 1778: Captain 1796: Major 1800: Lieut.-Colonel 1803: Colonel 1812: Major-General 1814: Lieut.-General 1830. Took part in Monson's retreat before Jaswantrao Holkar in 1804, as commandant of the 2nd Battalion of the 9th Bengal Infantry, when "he marched on foot at the head of his regiment and kept it in formation" (Pearse, *Memoir of Lord Lake*, pp. 292, 293). He received the special thanks of Lake, but no other reward (9).

(69A) *Harriet Ashe*—was twice married: (1) to Captain John Lumsdaine and (2) at Etawah, on July 27, 1806, to Lieutenant (afterwards Major) Howe Daniel Showers (who died in London in 1829). Georgina, her grand-daughter by her second husband, married in 1870 Sir Barnes Peacock (1810-1890) Chief Justice of Bengal from 1859 to 1870, and died aged 83 in March 1925. Lady Peacock's father, Major-General St. George Daniel Showers, commanded the 2nd European Brigade in the Mutiny and was subsequently in command at Fort William.

(70) *Thomas Gowan*—married Elizabeth Parry on August 11, 1787: See note (6).

(71) *Henry Haldane*—cf. Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. III, p. 288): "In the beginning of September, 1785 Lord Cornwallis arrived in the *Swallow* packet, (and) brought out with him as his Staff Colonel Ross, his private Secretary, Captain Madan and Capt. Harry Haldane, his aides-de-camp, two high-spirited and amiable men. Soon after their arrival they both became members of the Beefsteak Club". This club, says Hickey (who was elected in the same year) was limited to twenty members, and "subsisted for upwards of twenty years with the highest éclat". Haldane who was a captain in the Royal Engineers, married Maria Helm at St. John's Church on September 29, 1792, when Lord Cornwallis signed the register.

(72) *Henry Lodge*—Accountant General of the Mayor's Court and clerk to the Committee of Commerce, 1773; Secretary to the Provincial Council at Dacca, 1776: at Backergunge, November 1788: in receipt of subsistence allowance as a senior merchant 1797: resigned the service 1799.

(73) *Charles William Dent*: see note (46).

(9) Another St. George Ashe, son of Capt. Benjamin Ashe, was baptized at St. John's Church on August 31, 1777.

(74) *John Toppin*—or *Topping*: married Elizabeth Hunter on April 10, 1787. Retired as Captain-Lieutenant, 1801. The child *Richard Haswell* died on October 29, 1788.

(75) *Richard Forbes*—cadet 1778: Lieut.-Colonel commanding 3rd battalion of Invalids, 1801.

(76) *John Herbert Harington*—Writer, 1780: Revenue Persian Translator, 1783: Collector of Calcutta, 1788: Secretary to the Board of Revenue, 1788-1791: Fourth Member, Board of Revenue, 1798: Judge of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, 1801-1812: Chief Judge, 1812-19: Member of the Supreme Council, 1821-23: retired, 1827, and died in London, April 9, 1828. President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1824. His portrait hangs in the Judges' Library at the High Court, and Harington Street is named after him. The child *Charles* died on September 8, 1788.

(77) *John Bowers*—Was he the son of Mrs. Mary Bowers who died on March 4, 1781 at the age of fifty-five and whose tomb may still be seen in the South Park Street cemetery? She was, according to James Augustus Hicky, "fidgeted into the grave by fear of losing a large fortune which she had acquired by industry and frugality." A paragraph in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* during the year 1780 records that "Mrs. Bowers was a young woman and inhabitant of Calcutta, when it was taken by the Moors in the year—, where upwards of—British subjects were confined in the dungeon: she concealed herself until after night in one of the ware houses in the factory, from whence she made her escape on board a small vessel lying in the river opposite the old Fort." As she was born in 1726 she would have been just thirty at the time of the tragedy. The entry in the Burial Register records that she was "many years an inhabitant of this place."

Joshua Bowers, soldier, was married in Calcutta on October 10, 1749 to "Frances, a country woman." Samuel Bowers, merchant, died on March 2, 1788.

(78) *George Hatch*—Assistant at Silberis, 1772: Collector of Dinajpore, 1788 to 1792.

(79) *John Edward Harington*—Accountant to the Board of Revenue, and Deputy Accountant General, 1788-1789: Collector of Moorshedabad, 1790-1792: Resident at the Court of the Nawab Nazim, 1793. Succeeded his father as eighth baronet, 1793 (born 1760). Married on April 10, 1787, Marianne, daughter of Thomas Philpot (writer 1779: Commercial Resident at Hurripaul, 1789-1796, and at Santipore, 1799). Her sister Anne married on July 13, 1787, Thomas Calvert, senior merchant (Controller of Salt, 1787-1789). The sisters came out on the *Ravensworth* in September 1785 (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 289): and the story went in Calcutta (*ibid.* p. 344) that Lord Cornwallis intended to propose to Marianne but was forestalled by Harington.

James Harington—the subject of this entry, succeeded his father as ninth baronet on June 9, 1831, and followed him in the Bengal Civil Service

(writer, 1807): became Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal at Patna in 1833, and died there on January 5, 1835. He married in 1817, being then Magistrate of Jessore, Sophia, daughter of Charles William Steer (B. C. S. 1801-1841) and sister of Charles Steer (writer, 1830), who was judge of the High Court at Fort William from 1862 to 1865. His younger brother, Edward John Harington (born 1794, writer 1809) was Judge and Magistrate of Behar from 1824 to 1826: retired 1837, died 1857. Another brother, Richard (1800-1853), was Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, from 1842 to 1853. His grandson Richard, the twelfth baronet, was Judge of the High Court at Fort William from 1899 to 1913.

(80) *Sir Robert Chambers*—was acting as Chief Justice during the absence of Impey, who sailed for England in December 1783 and did not resign his office until November 1787. Chambers, however, did not take his seat until September 1791, when (it is said) a salute was fired from Fort William. He held the office until August 1788, when he was offered a peerage but preferred a pension of £2,000 a year. The third Chief Justice was Sir John Anstruther (1798-1806). For further particulars regarding Chambers and the children born to him in Calcutta, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 151.

Mrs. Charlotte Smoult.—Charlotte Hardcastle married on July 3, 1788, William Smoult, Attorney, and Sealer and clerk to Sir Robert Chambers. "Mr. William Johnson and Mr. William Smoult, both Attorneys, went out in the same ship (the *Dutton*) with the Judges (in 1774) and under the immediate protection of Sir Robert Chambers." (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 127). Johnson, who became Clerk of the Crown, married on January 12, 1788, Anna Maria Theresia Tolley, widow of Major William Tolley: as to whom see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 145.

Mrs. Maria Theresa Watson—widow of Colonel Henry Watson, who acted as second to Francis in the Duel with Hastings: see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 166.

Mrs. Dick—see note (7).

(81) *John White*—writer 1778: Sub-Secretary in the Public Department, 1787: Remembrancer to Criminal Courts, 1790: returned to Europe, January, 1800. Married at St John's Church to Matilda Denton on November 4, 1784. Her sister Charlotte married Robert Tomlinson, senior merchant (accountant to the Board of Trade 1784-1787) on the same day. Their brother, Thomas Denton, Chief Officer of the *Phoenix* Indiaman, married Mercy Evans (also at St. John's Church) on October 22, 1786.

(82) *George Nesbitt Thompson*—admitted as an Advocate of the Supreme Court at Fort William on July 13, 1779. Private Secretary to Warren Hastings in 1783. Senior Counsel to the Company in 1786 (Thomas Henry Davies, the "Counsellor Feeble" of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* being Advocate-General). Returned to England in 1790. His letters to Hastings have been printed *in extenso* in *Bengal: Past and Present*. Married on July 30, 1791, at Marylebone Parish Church Catherine Mary (Powney) the widow of Henry Vansittart: See note (24) and *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 213. Their son George Powney Thompson

(writer 1815) became Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut at Agra and died there on November 11, 1849. He married Harriot Fendall (who died on February 17, 1875 at the age of 82) daughter of John Fendall, member of the Supreme Council (who died at Calcutta on November 10, 1825) and was the father of Maria Sophia who married Sir Richmond Shakespear (who died at Indore in 1861), and Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson (1829-1890), Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1882 to 1887, whose portrait may be seen in the Calcutta Town Hall. Two other sons of George Nesbitt Thompson, Christopher Anstey and Edward Penton, became members of the Madras Civil Service. The former (writer 1816) died at Fort Saint George on June 11, 1831, and the latter (writer 1822) retired on annuity in 1852 and died in London in 1890. Charlotte Thompson, another of the daughters married Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (the second of that name and eighth baronet) who was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1812 to 1843. Mary Fendall, the sister of Harriot Fendall, who was born at Midnapore in 1794, married Sir John D'Oyly as his second wife in 1819, and was the mother of the ninth and tenth baronets.

(83) *John Moffatt*.—Died in Calcutta in 1791, at the age of 56 years. An inscription upon his grave in the South Park Street Cemetery records that "this humble stone is erected by William Moffat, son of the above named James Moffat, who commanded the *Phoenix* at this port in the year 1800". The "abovenamed James Moffat", who was John's brother, died in Calcutta on October 31, 1788, at the age of 55, and is buried close by. Both James and John were, like William, in the Marine Service of the Company. James was a Surgeon. His first voyage was in the *Walpole* (499 tons) which was taken by the French off Ceylon on September 20, 1762, when on her way to "the Coast and Bay": Thereafter he was Surgeon on the *Essex* (499 tons) for two voyages: China, 1764-66: Madras and Bombay, 1768-69: the *Shrewsbury* (499 tons) also two voyages, Bombay 1771-1773: Coast and Bay, 1776-77: the *Dutton* (676 tons) Coast and Bay, 1774-75, the *Earl of Oxford* (758 tons) Coast and China, 1779-1781: the *Francis* (775 tons) Coast and Bay, 1782-1784: and the *Ganges* (758 tons) Coast and Bay, 1786-87. He made his last voyage in the *Phoenix* (800 tons) which sailed from the Downs for Bengal on February 17, 1788, and died after his arrival at Calcutta. John Moffat's sea record is as follows. 3rd Officer, *Asia* (499 tons: Bombay, 1764-1767); 2nd Officer, *Devonshire* (499 tons: Coast and China, 1769-1771); 1st Officer, *Hector* (499 tons: Bombay, 1772-1773). William Moffat was sworn in as Commander on October 31, 1799 and commanded in succession the *Phoenix* (800 tons: Bengal and Bombay, 1800-1802); the *Ganges* (1200 tons: China, 1803-1804); the *Winchester* (1200 tons Bombay, Madras and China, 1806-15) and the *Scaleby Castle* (1242 tons: China, 1816-1817).

(84) *Maria Eliza Bristow*: died on December 17, 1788, aged seven months. For some account of her parents, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 150 and Vol. XXVI, pp. 161, 162. John Bristow was member of the Board of Trade in 1788 and President from 1797 to 1800.

He attended the foundation meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in January 1784.

(85) *Richard Roche*—writer 1777: succeeded Tilghman Henckell as Judge and Magistrate of Jessore in 1789, and carried out the Permanent Settlement in that district: Judge and Magistrate of Nadia, 1794: Judge of the Court of Appeal at Moorshedabad, 1796; still in the service in 1804. Transferred the headquarters of the Jessore District in 1790 to Kasba, the modern town of Jessore, from Murali, two miles away. The place was described in 1800 as "all jungle trees and bamboos," and its bazars as "covered with unhealthy vegetation."

(86) *Thomas William Clayton*—cadet, 1771: married Emma Maria Jenkins on November 10, 1787. Lieut.-Col. 1798: in command at Bencoolen: died September 22, 1804, aged 50 years. An inscription at Barrackpore records that "he saved the forfeited lives of three hundred men at the assault of the Burrahbutty Fort. Cuttack, A. D. 1803."

ADDENDUM TO BAPTISMS, 1783-1785.

(*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 194)

May 5, 1783: Kenneth Archd. John, son of Mr. Kenneth Murchison, Surgn., H. C.'s service.

The father, *Kenneth Murchison*, is the "Dr. Murchison" of whom mention is made in the first volume of William Hickey's *Memoirs* (pp. 291-292). While he was Surgeon at Lucknow, a dispute "at a convivial dinner where the whole party committed a debauch," arose between him and Captain Croftes, the scapegrace brother of Charles Croftes (as to whom see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 203-204). The inevitable challenge followed, and Murchison shot the other dead. We get another glimpse of him in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes* (pp. 77-78) where it is related that he was deputed by the Judges to visit Nuncomar in jail. After serving in India for seventeen years Murchison returned to Scotland and purchased the estate of Tarradale in Ross-shire. He married the daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Fairburn in 1791 and died in 1796. His son Sir Roderick Impey Murchison (1792-1871) bequeathed a portrait of Impey by Zoffany to the National Portrait Gallery.

J. J. C.

The Armenian Church at Saidabad.

THE Armenian Church at Saidabad near Cossimbazar, with its three verandahs, the surrounding walls, and a parsonage (which has long disappeared) was built in 1758, at a cost of Rs. 2,36,000, by Aga Petrus Arathoon and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in memory of his parents, Arathoon and Hosaima, his wife Dastagool, his brothers Aga Gregory (known to history as Gurgin Khan, the famous general of Mir Qasim Ali Khan), and Barsegh (the "Parseek Arathoon" of Bolts' *Considerations*), and "all blood relations, whether alive or dead". These facts are duly chronicled in ancient or classical Armenian on a large mural commemorative tablet of brass which was formerly affixed to the northern interior wall of the Church, and is now in the sacristy.

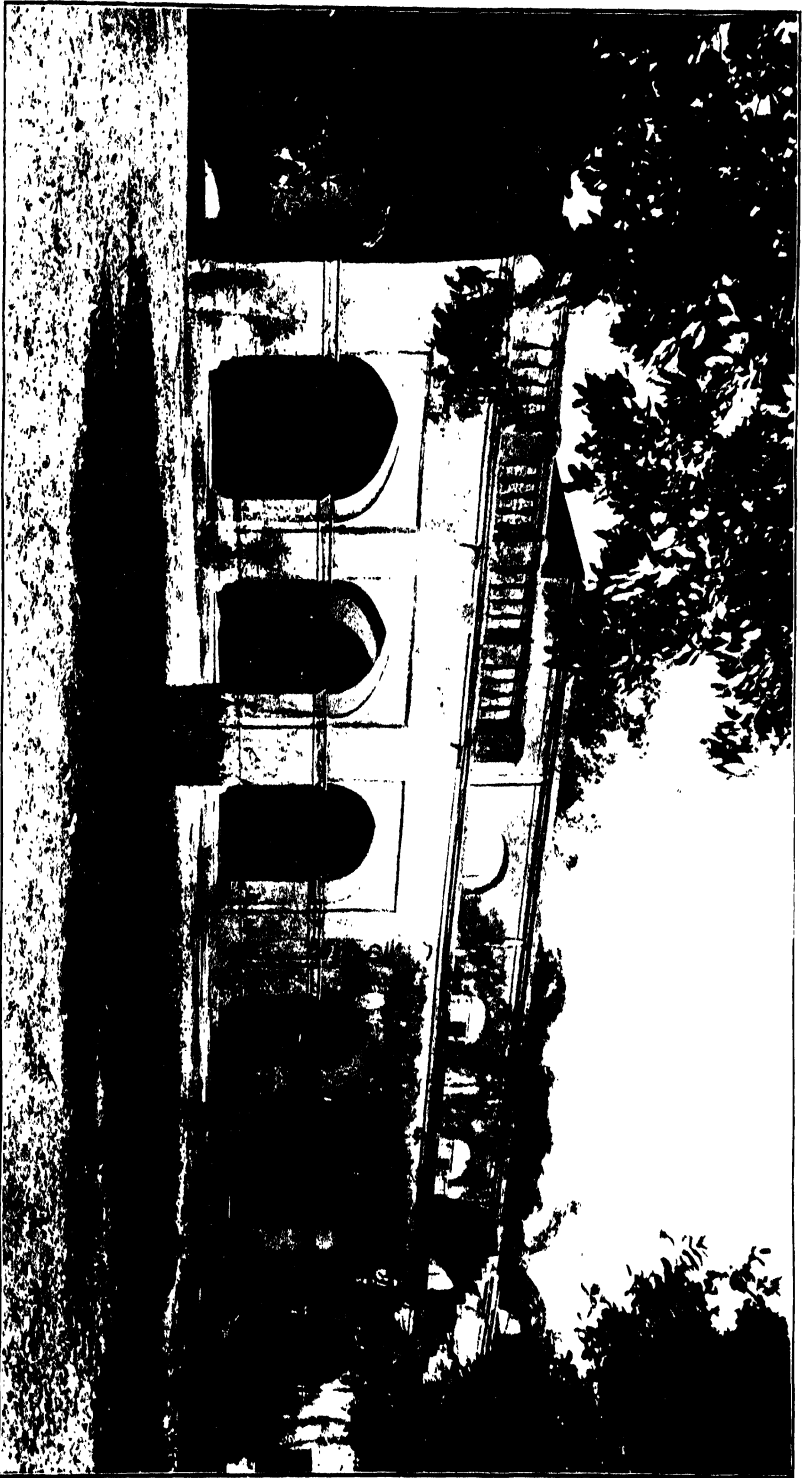
Aga Petrus, or "the Armenian Petrus," as Orme calls him, was the friend and confidant of Clive, Vansittart, and Hastings, and played an important part in the negotiations which led, first to the overthrow of Suraj-ud-daula, and later to the deposition of Mir Jaffir. It was he who supplied the fugitives at Fulda with provisions during the six months which preceded the arrival of the army of retribution. The treatment which he received in return for these services reflected no credit on those whom he had assisted and who did not hesitate to stigmatize him as a "spy". He died in Calcutta on August 29, 1778, at the age of 53, and lies buried in the Church of Nazareth by the side of his wife Dastagool who survived him until 1805. The inscription on his tomb, which is in classical Armenian, may thus be translated:

The eminent princely Chief, Aga Petrus Arathoon, of Erivan near Julfa, Ispahan, of the family of Abraham, was a lustrous hyacinthine crown of the entire Armenian nation. He acquired a great fame amongst all people to the glory of his nation. He worked assiduously and expended lavishly. His generosity towards destitute orphans and widows was without parallel. By his munificent gifts he erected handsome and well-embellished Churches. He departed this life in the hope of salvation at the age of fifty-three, and was placed in this tomb with pomp, in the Year of Our Lord 1778, the 29th of August, corresponding with the year 163 of the era of Azariah and the 12th of the month of Nadar.

The altar on the right of the main sanctuary of the Church of Nazareth is dedicated to St. Gregory the Illuminator, and is in memory of Gurgin Khan. That on the north, or left, is dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul and is in memory of Aga Petrus himself, who was the donor of both altars in 1763 (1).

MESROVB J. SETH.

(1) An account of the murder of Gurgin Khan and a note by Mr. Seth on the Church of Nazareth in Calcutta will be found in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*.



THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AT SAIDABAD.
From a Photograph by the Rev. W. K. Frintinger.

Mrs. Fay's Letters.

IN these days of burrowings and borrowings, it seems more than a little odd that Mrs. Fay's Letters should have been allowed to languish so long without an editor. Yet, with the single exception of the Calcutta Historical-Society's reprint of 1908 edited by Archdeacon Firminger (who took unpardonable liberties with his text), they have not been reprinted since the original Calcutta editions of 1817 and 1821 which, for all intents and purposes, are unprocurable. Mr. Forster's present edition (1) is actually the first to be published outside India.

This neglect is the less explainable since Mrs. Fay was that rare thing, a first-rate letter-writer. Her grammar was her own, her mental equipment that of a lady's maid, but her letters are remarkable and their human interest absorbing. Her age produced many greater letters, but none that so faithfully reflect the character of their author. As Mr. Forster puts it, "Eliza Fay is a work of art."

Of her life and origin we know strangely little, outside what she tells us. We do not know her maiden name; we know nothing of her parents. It would seem that a sister married a Mr. Thomas W. Preston. Eliza herself was the wife of Anthony Fay, the only son of "Francis Fay, gentleman, late of Rotherhithe, Surrey." In 1780, Anthony Fay was admitted an Advocate at the Supreme Court of Calcutta. He was a bit of a fool, an Irishman, who ran into debt, produced an illegitimate child, and was underbred and quarrelsome. He deserted his wife and went back to England, and we hear no more of him. She, on her side, was neither rich nor well-educated, nor well-mannered, nor good-tempered, nor beautiful, nor improper. But she had malice, sense of humour, power of description, a sense of little things. So she wrote letters home to England, wrong in grammar, wrong in punctuation, but every word she wrote is personal. "Not a sentence is dead," is Mr. Forster's truthful verdict. She reveals herself, Eliza. Though the letters have value historically, their abiding interest is human.

There is no mention of the Fays in Hickey's Memoirs, and that despite the fact that their connections were, like his, with legal circles. The bare facts of Mrs. Fay's career, as narrated in the letters, are difficult to amplify. In 1779 she was twenty three and recently married; in 1780 she and her husband landed in Calcutta; in 1782 she was back, alone, in England. In 1784 she made her second voyage to Calcutta, set up as a mantua-maker, was bankrupt by 1788, and at the close of 1794 was again in England. In

(1) Original Letters from India (1779-1816). By Mrs. Eliza Fay. Edited with Introductory and Terminal Notes by E. M. Forster. (London: The Hogarth Press, pp. 288: Fifteen Shillings net).

1796 she made her third voyage to Calcutta, but departed very shortly for New York which she reached in 1797. There the story ends; the later letters (of 1815) are reminiscences of the earlier years. But we know from other sources that she again revisited Calcutta, for she died there on September 9, 1816, aged sixty years. She left no will; her estate was administered by the Registrar of the Supreme Court. Tulloh, the auctioneer, sold her effects. She was buried in no one knows which of the Calcutta cemeteries.

A handful of dates, a rather sordid story of struggle against circumstances. Happily, we have the letters, published by her administrator "from a view of benefiting the estate." The Library of the India Office possesses a copy of the original (1817) Edition. Mr. Forster has been unable to trace another copy in England

The first fourteen of the letters describe the journey out to India. The ride across France, the adventures in Egypt, are admirably told. At last she reaches Calicut: to be at once imprisoned by Hyder Ali's governor, Sirdar Khan, together with her fellow passengers who included a Mr. Tulloh, presumably the Calcutta auctioneer, who is supposed to figure as Judas in Zoffany's "Last Supper," and his good lady. The letter recounting the imprisonment is of astonishing length, and fully as astonishing in its blend of passion, humour, venom, and intensity. One would like to know whom Tulloh married. If Mrs. Fay may be believed, his wife "was one of the very lowest creatures taken off the streets in London." It was a "common expression" of this "creature": "Lord bless you, if I did such or such a thing, Tulloh would make no more to do, but knock me down like an ox." Mrs. Fay, as was to be expected, "entertained some suspicions of her from the first."

From November 1779 to February 1780, the ship's party remained in the hands of Sirdar Khan. The earliest letter from Calcutta is dated May 22, 1780. Hastings has been called on, Sir Elijah Impey has been flattering, Lady Chambers is "lending some of her dresses for mine to be made by." The little character sketches are apt to be malicious: Eliza Fay could be uncommonly malicious. But she is vastly more entertaining than her sprightly rival in letter-writing, Sophia Goldborne. "I want to make you see them," she says of her enemies and friends, and we see them. It is not her fault if she is more interested in the price of mutton and the shapes of hats than in the historical events which were taking place around her.

Mrs. Fay's letters are not a quarry like Hickey's Memoirs; one does not dig deep into them in the hope of unearthing scraps of information about the obscure or the illustrious. They cannot be said to throw new light upon the ways and customs of our ancestors. The antiquarian, the historian, may find them disappointing. But to the student of human nature, to the lover of good letters, they furnish an unfailing mine of entertainment.

What could we ask for better than the following as an illustration of the "airs" of Mrs. Hastings?

Mrs. Hastings was of the party; she came in late and happened to place herself on the opposite side of the room, beyond a speaking distance, so, strange to tell, I quite forgot she was there! After some time had elapsed, my observant friend, Mrs. Jackson, who had been impatiently watching my looks, asked if I had paid my respects to the Lady Governess? I answered in the negative, having had no opportunity as she had not chanced to look towards me when I was prepared to do so. "Oh", replied the kind old lady, "you must fix your eyes on her, and never take them off till she notices you; Miss Chantry has done this and so have I; It is absolutely necessary to avoid giving offence". I followed her prudent advice, and was soon honoured with a complacent glance which I returned as became me by a most respectful bend.

It is possible to imagine something of the mingled dignity and impudence of that "respectful bend" by a glance at the frontispiece: a fantastic portrait of Mrs. Fay in Egyptian (not Indian) costume, reproduced from the 1817 Edition. The engraving is "by T. Alais"; Mr. Forster has not succeeded in tracing the original drawing. But the artist is A. W. Devis, and this raises an interesting problem. The Egyptian costume corresponds precisely with her account of what she wore in Cairo in 1779, yet, if the portrait was made shortly after her arrival in Calcutta, Devis cannot have been more than eighteen years of age, and there is indeed no evidence that at so early a date he had gone east. Why Mrs. Fay should have retained her Egyptian clothing to any later period is inexplicable, and, although Devis was in Calcutta in 1784, Mrs. Fay by then had parted from her husband, had visited and returned from England, and had embarked definitely upon a career of vicissitudes quite sufficient in themselves to expel from her thoughts any enthusiasm for Egypt or for things Egyptian even if she had at one time (which is doubtful) harboured such enthusiasm.

However, there the portrait stands by way of frontispiece, and a very characteristic portrait, for all the puzzle of its origin. Mr. Forster discusses it, as he discusses most things connected with Eliza, in his extremely illuminating, if oddly jerky, introduction. And he has added to the book some fourteen pages of "Terminal Notes", useful little notes of dates and facts and history which might very easily have been quadrupled. Mr. Forster was wise, perhaps, not to quadruple them. Mrs. Fay is worth reading for her own sake. Her millinery shop, bye the bye, abutted, as Archdeacon Firminger discovered, on to the graveyard of St. John's Church. The vestry erected a wall, depriving her of light and air. She wrote, complaining. Possibly, we too might have complained if Mr. Forster had shut us off from Mrs. Fay by too great a quantity of notes, whether terminal or otherwise.

ALBERT LOUIS COTTON.

The Editor's Note Book.

THE task of preparing an Index to Volumes IX to XXX of *Bengal: Past and Present* has proved to be more formidable than we anticipated. Half the work, however, has now been completed: and the Index to Volumes IX to XVIII, consisting of some 15,000 headings, has gone to Press. It is intended to print this portion first and to publish a separate volume dealing with the remainder. We have already acknowledged the receipt of contributions towards our Index Fund amounting to Rs. 1,000: but this sum will not suffice to cover the cost, and we venture to appeal most earnestly for a further display of generosity from members of the Society. Raja Janakinath Roy of Bhagyakul, to whom our best thanks are due, has sent a munificent donation of Rs. 500: but we are in need of at least another Rs. 500. Subscriptions should be marked "Index Fund" and sent to Mr. A. N. Nicholson, the Treasurer of the Society, at the Mercantile Bank of India, Clive Street, Calcutta.

MOST people know, or ought to know, that Dr. Samuel Johnson never said, "Sir, let us walk in the Respondentia." The phrase was an invention of George Augustus Sala. But there was a time when Johnson very nearly gave himself the chance of saying "Sir, let us walk in the Respondentia." For there is a passage in Boswell, which indicates that the Doctor did entertain the thought of coming out to India. Boswell is reproducing a remark made by Johnson in 1776, when he was sixty-seven years of age:

I lately received a letter from the East Indies from a gentleman I formerly knew very well: he had returned from that country with a handsome fortune as it was reckoned, before means were found to acquire these immense sums which have been brought from thence of late: he was a scholar and an agreeable man and lived very prettily in London until his wife died. One evening he lost £1,000 to a gentleman whose name I am sorry I have forgotten. Next morning he sent the gentleman £500 with an apology that it was all he had in the world. The gentleman sent the money back to him declaring that he would not accept of it: and adding that if he (Mr. Fowke) had occasion for £500 more, he would send it him. Mr. Fowke resolved to go out again to the East Indies and make his fortune anew. He got a considerable appointment, and I had some intention of joining him. Had I thought then, as I do now, I should have gone: but at that time I had objections to quitting England.

JOSEPH FOWKE, with whom Dr. Johnson might have foregathered in Joseph Fowke. Calcutta, went to India as a writer in 1746 and in 1751 was fifth member of Council at Fort Saint George. He returned to England in 1752 but came out to Calcutta in 1770 as a free merchant. In July 1775 he obtained permission to reside at Benares, and in April 1779 he and his son Francis were authorized to reside at Chinsurah "until their employment." On February 17, 1780, he was appointed on a monthly salary of sicca Rs. 1,500 to compile a code of all the proceedings and orders of the Court of Directors. The appointment was abolished with effect from March 31, 1783; and on November 19, 1787, we find him asking for permission to enter into the usual covenants, "in order that he may continue his trade in diamonds which he has pursued for the last forty years." In the following month (December 4, 1787) he applied for a passage to England in the *Princess Royal*: but he does not appear to have actually left Calcutta until 1790. He and his son Francis were with Nuncoomar indicted for conspiracy against Hastings and found guilty. Burke forced a vote in the House of Commons to grant him a pension. He died at Bath in 1806, at the age of 80. Francis Fowke as Secretary to the Council attended the famous meeting in June, 1777, when Clavering took the oath in supersession of Hastings.

WE have already recorded the fact (*Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXVIII, p. 18) that a son of Mrs. Siddons was a member of Calcutta and the Bengal Civil Service from 1803 to 1838. The following extract from *The Times* of October 26, 1916, for which we are indebted to Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S., will show a link between Calcutta and David Garrick:

A gift of considerable historic interest has recently been received at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the shape of David Garrick's bed, which has been presented by Mr. H. E. Trevor, a direct descendant of Garrick's brother George. The bedstead was made about 1775 for Garrick's villa at Hampton where it remained after Garrick's death in 1779 and during Mrs. Garrick's lifetime and subsequently until the sale of the villa in 1864. It consists of a wooden canopy with columns decorated with ornaments characteristic of the period, the original green and yellow paint being well preserved. The hangings of cotton, painted in colours with designs of the "Tree of Life," were made in a factory of the East India Company at Masulipatam and were presented to Garrick by some of the merchants of Calcutta.

William Hickey arrived in Calcutta for the first time in November 1777: which is no doubt the reason why he makes no mention of the incident.

SOME difficulty seems to have arisen with the Customs over the bed: for the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1802 (p. 100) prints an entertaining letter "said to have been written by Mr. Garrick to the Commissioners of Customs":

The Customs and the Gift.

Not even Rachael weeping for her children could show more sorrow than Mrs. Garrick; not weeping for her Children, she has none; nor for her husband; thanks to be to the humour of the times, she can be as philosophic on that subject as her betters. What does she weep for, then? Shall I dare tell you? It is for the loss of a Chintz Bed and Curtains. The tale is short and is as follows. I had taken some trouble to oblige the Gentlemen of Calcutta by sending them Plays, Scenes, &c. and rendering them other services in my way: in return they sent me Madeira and poor Rachael the unfortunate Chintz. She had it four years and upon making some alteration in my little place at Hampton she intended a way with her prohibited present. She had prepared Paper, Chairs, &c. for this favourite token of Indian gratitude, but alas! all human felicity is frail! No care having been taken, and some treachery being exerted against her, it was seized, "the Very Bed, by the coarse hands of filthy dungeon villains, and thrown amongst the common lumber." If you have the least pity for a distressed Female, any regard for her Husband (for he has a sad time of it) you may put your thumb and finger to the business, and take the thorn out of Rachael's side.

The real name of "Rachael" was Eva Marie Violetti. She was the reputed daughter of Veigel, a Viennese, and Garrick married her on June 14, 1749, he being then 32 years of age, and she seven years his junior. The "little place at Hampton" was purchased in 1754. Garrick died in 1779 (as we have mentioned) but his wife survived him until 1822, when she died at the age of 98, and was buried beside him in Westminster Abbey at the foot of Shakespeare's statue.

IT is amusing to find Warren Hastings making mention of the same difficulty with the Customs, in connection with Munny Begum's present of ivory furniture to his wife. In a letter from London of May 20, 1786, to George Nesbitt Thompson, he writes:

Mrs. Hastings'
Ivory Chairs.

Mrs. Hastings desires me to inform you that the Begum's ivory chairs are of *very great value*, not of little as you seem to estimate them. She requests that you will present her respects to the Begum (and mine, pray), and desire that she will not order any velvet or other worked seat to the chairs, as this will make the whole seizable by the Custom House Office. She also begs that they may be sent by a ship that will swim.

ANOTHER historic bed may be seen near Calcutta. The large four-poster used by Dupleix is still preserved in the official residence of the Administrator at Chandernagore.



WARREN HASTINGS:
From the Engraving by Edward Finden
of the Portrait by Ozias Humphry, R.A.

DR. BUSTEED, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (fourth edition, p. 183) makes mention of "The Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusement," a monthly paper, in the first number of which (April 6, 1785) "is given an elegant engraving of the late Governor-General," Warren Hastings. Can any member of the Society say where a copy of this Magazine may be seen? Search has been made without success in the British Museum and the India Office Library, and as far as Calcutta is concerned, in the Imperial Library, Archbishop Goethals' Library, and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Is the portrait of Hastings which is reproduced on the opposite page, identical with the "elegant engraving"? It was published in 1910 in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. V, p. 373) but no clue to its identification is there given, beyond the wholly unhelpful statement that it "appeared in a work written many years ago." There is however, a copy of the print in the Victoria Memorial Hall, which bears an inscription to the effect that it is taken from an engraving by Edward Finden of a portrait by Ozias Humphry, R. A. Further enquiry has shown that the print was used as an illustration to a volume entitled "Johnsoniana, or a Supplement to Boswell", which was published in 1836.

AN interesting picture was offered for sale in June last at Willis's Rooms as the work of Zoffany. Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., sends us the extract from the sale catalogue which is as follows:

A Reputed
Zoffany.

The Property of a Lady.
J. Zoffany, R. A.

General William Palmer and his Family. In the centre General Palmer seated leaning towards his wife Beebee Izg (sic) Begum, a Princess of the Royal House of Delhi, (sic), who is nursing their youngest son Hastings. On her left is William the eldest son, and to the right is their little daughter Mary. On the right of the General is the Begum's sister and behind her a lady-in-waiting. The two other figures are Indian women attendants: landscape background. Canvas 40 inches by 50 inches. Painted during Zoffany's visit to India. General Palmer in his younger days was confidential Secretary to Warren Hastings, and subsequently became Resident at Gwalior from 1791 to 1794 (sic). He died in 1816 (sic) and the Begum in 1828.

There are several errors in this description. The Begum was a member of the Oudh family, and Palmer, who had been Military Secretary to Hastings, no doubt met her when he went to Lucknow as Resident in 1782. He left Gwalior in 1798, and not in 1794, and was Resident at the Peshwa's Court at Poona from 1798 to 1801. Subsequently he commanded at Monghyr and at Berhampore, and died at the latter place in 1814 (not

1816). William, who was born in 1782 in Calcutta and died in 1867, founded in 1814 the great banking house of Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad in which the Rumbolds were partners, and which involved the Marquess of Hastings in its ruin in 1823. His daughter married Colonel Meadows Taylor, the author of "Confessions of a Thug." He was not in point of age the General's eldest son: for his brother John, the "Prince of Merchants," was born in 1767, the year after his father entered the Bengal Army from the King's service. Hastings Palmer was baptized in Calcutta in 1785 and died in 1860 at Hyderabad. He is buried in the Residency Cemetery.

WITH regard to the picture, which was withdrawn at 10½ guineas, there is some reason for doubting whether it is the work of Zoffany. Differing Views. It has been heavily, but not unskilfully, restored: and from what remains of the original painting, it would seem (in the opinion of at least one expert) that the artist is much more likely to have been Devis. Sir William Foster, however, takes the view that it may be ascribed to Zoffany, and such is the family tradition. The probable date, judging from the year of Hastings Palmer's baptism, he would fix at 1786 or 1787. This would fit in both with Zoffany and with Devis: but it was not the habit of Devis to paint such portrait groups. Only the faces and in the case of the General and the Begum, the upper parts of the body, are finished: the rest is a mere sketch.

OUR readers will recollect the "Chinaman's Petition" which formed part of Mr. Ramsbotham's second selection from the Records of the Government of India and was printed in our last issue (Vol. XXIX, p. 211). Atchew or Tong Atchew, the petitioner, has given his name to Atchipore, a village on the riverbank six miles below Budge-Budge. It was here that he received his grant of land from Warren Hastings, and here that he established a sugar manufactory. The story goes that he was the first to introduce Chinese tea into India. In a memorial submitted in 1781, Atchew refers to the land which he had cultivated with some success, and complains that the Chinese labourers who were bound to him under indenture for a term of years, were constantly being enticed away by Chinese deserters from the ships in Calcutta. A notice was thereupon issued by the Governor-General in Council declaring that Atchew was under the protection of Government, and that the Board desired to give every encouragement to the Chinese Colony under his direction and were determined to afford him every support and assistance in detecting and punishing all ill-disposed persons. Atchew appears to have died shortly afterwards, for there is a letter in the Records, dated December 8, 1783, from the Company's Attorney in which he states that he has applied to the executor of Atchew for payment of money due under a bond. On November 15, 1804, we find an advertisement offering for sale "the estate of Atcheepore situated about six miles below Budge-Budge, with all the buildings, stills, sugar mills, and other

fixtures." The property was said to consist of 650 bighas, held under a *pottah* (lease) from the Burdwan Raj and paying an annual rent of Rs. 45. The horse-shoe shaped tomb of Atchew may still be seen in the village; and also a Chinese temple, situated about a mile from the river bank, to which a yearly pilgrimage is made by the Chinese community in Calcutta. A jungle-path leads to a ruined and abandoned bungalow which was once occupied by the Collector of the Twenty-four Parganas: and traces of Chinese marble are still visible on some of the floors.

FOR close upon a century and a half the Greek community of Calcutta has worshipped in the historic old church in Amratollah, hard by the busy thoroughfare once known as Murghihatla and now dignified with the name of Canning Street. Henceforward the "Orthodox Brotherhood of Greeks in Calcutta" must assemble in a new building in Russa Road, Bhowanipore. The Calcutta Improvement Trust has laid hands upon the old church, and it has been demolished. It owed its foundation to Hadjee Alexias Argyree, a native of Philippopolis, who first found his way to Bengal in 1750. In 1770 Argyree sailed as interpreter to Captain Cudbert Thornhill (a famous Calcutta character who was afterwards master attendant from 1785 to 1808) on a voyage to Mocha and Jeddah. The ship almost foundered in a storm: and Argyree, in memory of his preservation, obtained permission on his return to build a Greek Church in Calcutta. The purchase of the ground and the erection of the building cost Rs. 30,000, and among the subscribers to the fund was Warren Hastings who gave Rs. 2,000. The Church was consecrated on August 6, 1781, and the first minister was Father Constantine Parthenio, a native of Corfu, who came out to Calcutta in 1775, and is said to have sat for the figure of the Saviour in the picture of the Last Supper which Zoffany painted for St. John's Church.

CARICATURES of Cudbert Thornhill and Father Parthenio will be found in a coloured print published in November, 1792, by James Gillray and based on a drawing "made on the spot by an amateur." This represents Lord Cornwallis holding a reception in the assembly room at the Old Court House, on the walls of which are hanging four of Thomas Daniell's Views of Calcutta. In the *Works of James Gillray*, by Thomas Wright (p. 163), it is stated that the amateur artist "is conjectured to have been General Stevenson," and that "each of these portraits, over fifty in number, represent the characteristic traits of different persons of note engaged in the public services of the Presidency." Eight individuals only are identified by name in Gillray's print: Col. [A] Ross, (the Military Secretary), Mr. [John] Wilton, Col. [S] Auchmuty, Mr. [W.C.] Blaquiere, Mr. Ginetti [? Tiretta], Sir John Shore, Mr. [J.] Miller, and the Governor-General. A reproduction was published in Calcutta by H. M. Smith in December, 1843, and the following list of names was supplied: Lord Corn-

wallis, Col. [A] Ross, Col. [J] Fullarton, Col. [S] Auchmuty, John Haldane [Claud] Benizett (Sub-Treasurer), Robert MacFarlane (Clerk of the Market), J. Miller (Deputy of Police), [William] Pye (Collector of the Twenty-four Parganas), George Williamson (Vendu Master), Gilbert Hall (Coroner), the Rev. Thomas Blanshard, [Edward] Tiretta (of the Bazar), [Abraham] Caldicott, King Collins, Cudbert Thornhill, and Father Parthenio. Copies of the original print and the reproduction are on exhibition at the Victoria Memorial Hall. Lord Curzon has given an illustration in his book (Vol. I. p. 240).

RAO BAHADUR S. V. CHARI reports the discovery, among the papers of the late Baboo Shambhu Chunder Mookerjee, of an opinion given on April 30, 1836, by Mr. Longueville Loftus Clarke, the founder of the Calcutta Bar Library which celebrated its hundredth birthday on June 15 last. Clarke was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal on January 15, 1823, and died as recently as 1863. He lived in a house on the Esplanade, immediately to the west of the Supreme Court building: and was one of the leading figures in the public and social life of the Calcutta of his day.

THE opinion relates to a question of succession and adoption under the Hindu Law: and counsel of to-day will be interested to learn that the backsheet of the brief, which bears the name of Messrs. Waddington and Wilson, Solicitors, shows that the fee offered and accepted—was the modest sum of three gold mohurs. For the benefit of the general reader, we may add that this amount represents Rs. 51, for the barrister's gold mohur is valued at Rs. 17 and not Rs. 16. When sicca rupees ceased to be legal tender, the Calcutta Bar resolved at a meeting held on September 1, 1835 that "In consequence of the change of currency, the fees of the Bar shall continue to be paid in the gold mohur or its equivalent in the new currency."

THE following announcement is made in Alexander's "East India Magazine" for 1836 (Vol. XII, p. 175). It is of interest as showing the original location of Spence's Hotel which is now situated, as we need hardly say, in Wellesley Place:

Spence's Hotel
and Loudon Build-
ings.

Coffee-House.—Notice has been taken in the public prints of a scheme of Mr. Wetherill to open a Coffee-house in Calcutta. The plan is to connect with Spence's Hotel an establishment similar to that of the Jerusalem Coffee-house in London, where all kinds of shipping intelligence will be procurable, and letter bags will be made up, and those who want refreshments may have them at a moment's notice. The idea is good, and we are glad to find the scheme strongly supported by the mercantile community. The resort to the hotel is now so great, that, we hear, the premises originally taken by Mr. Spence, have been found too small, and in

consequence Mr. Wetherill is about to remove the establishment to Loudon buildings, and it is in that range of buildings that the Coffee-rooms are to be opened.

The block known as Loudon Buildings covered the present site of the Treasury and the old Government of India Secretariat in Government Place West. The exact situation (Mr. S. Kumar of the Imperial Library informs us) is given in Mendes' Directory as "South of St. John's Cathedral, Hastings Street." The buildings were known colloquially as *Trotter-ka-barceek*. Spence's Hotel and his coffee-house were located there in 1840: and also the premises of R. Scott Thomson and Company, the chemists.

READERS of the Arabian Nights may remember that some account is given there of a form of punishment in use among Mahomed-
 The Mahomedan
 Punishment of
 Tusheer.
 ans, and known as *Tashhir*, or public exposure. It will come as a surprise to many to learn that, as recently as 1837, the punishment was inflicted by the British Courts in India. The fact is placed beyond doubt by the following extract which we take from another volume of Alexander's "East India Magazine" (Vol. XV, Jan—June 1838, pp. 389—390):—

The two unfortunate culprits who were convicted of the crime of perjury at the court of the Commissioner of Circuit for the division of Aylpoo, on the 22nd Sept. 1837, and with the concurrence of the Mahomedan law officer of the zillah, sentenced to four years' imprisonment with labor each, and to undergo the punishment of tusheer, underwent that punishment on Saturday, the 23rd inst. at mid-day. *Imprimis*, they had one side of their heads, whiskers, mustachios and beards shaved; they were then clothed in *kuffnees* made of sackcloth, and their heads were decorated with fantastically painted paper foolscaps, in lieu of turbans, and garlands of stringed shoes were suspended from their necks in the place of their beadstrings; their faces were daubed on one side with blacking and on the other with chunam. They were then taken out of the Aylpoo jail and mounted on jackasses in lieu of steeds, with their faces towards the tails of the patient animals, whilst two sweepers, who acted as squires to the knights errant, every now and then flourished immense cocoa-nut shred brooms over those worthies, and a common crier preceded them, with a tom-tom, beating on it the "Rogues March," and detailing to the numerous spectators the exploits of these two noble characters, which had been the cause of this procession and tumasha. The males alternately hissed or applauded, as their whim directed them, and the females smiled and giggled. This procession commenced its perambulation from the Aylpoo jail, went over Aylpoo bridge toward Kidderpoo, and thence over Kidderpoo bridge, through Kidderpoo to the Aylpoo court and thence back again to the Aylpoo jail.

It was numerously attended. When the party arrived opposite the Aylpore jail, these notables were dismounted, stripped of their paraphernalia, washed and ushered into the jail to undergo the other portion of their sentence, and the tumasha being over, the spectators retired pleased with the ludicrous spectacle.

EVERY student of the history of Old Calcutta has learned to appreciate the value of the *olla podrida* served up in the pages of "The Good Old Days of John Company." We are indebted to Mrs. Draycott of Simla for the information that the book which was originally published in two volumes in 1882, was written at Simla. The third volume which is very scarce, appeared in 1887. The author, Mr. W. H. Carey, who was a grandson of Dr. William Carey of Serampore fame, and the grandfather of Mrs. Draycott, was at the time proprietor and editor of the *Simla Argus*. In 1870 he brought out a Guide to Simla. He subsequently went to England and died at Teddington on November 28, 1889.

IN the third volume of Midnapore District Records which has just been issued from the Bengal Secretariat Book Dépôt (Rs. 18), the letters are collated which were received by the Resident and Collector from the year 1771 to the year 1774. The letters issued during the same period will be published in due course. On the cession of Midnapore (together with Burdwan and Chittagong) to the Company by Mir Kasim in 1760, Balasore ceased to be the headquarters in that region and a commercial factory was established in the town of Midnapore. Edward Baber and Samuel Lewis filled the office of Resident during the three years covered by this volume, and from April 1773 we find them addressed as "Resident and Collector": but not for long, for in the same year Midnapore was placed under the Provincial Council of Revenue at Burdwan. A variety of subjects are discussed in the letters. Military measures had to be undertaken against the zemindars of the western or "jungle" tracts who refused to pay revenue: both the "chuars" and the wandering gangs of Sannyasis and Fakirs gave trouble: and proposals for farming the district were called for in 1772. The transcription appears to have been carefully done, and an useful introduction is provided by Baboo Suresh Chandra Roy, the officiating Keeper of the Bengal Records. An index is also given to the two earlier volumes, which contained letters received and issued from 1763 to 1770.



EXAMINED BY ROCK PONDING BOARD
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